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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

VOL. 4, NO. 7–8
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WHEN MINNESOTA WAS A PAWN OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS[1]

Were I asked what region of the world's surface was best prepared by nature for human habitation, I should pass over such densely populated areas as Egypt, the Rhine Valley, and other places made famous by centuries of history and claim this honor for a region that has been occupied by white men only a few generations. Undoubtedly your self-complacency has already suggested to you my answer, at least in part. Yes, your city of Duluth is at one end of the region, but, if the whole extent of the territory I have in mind was favored by Minnesota's cold winters, I fear I should hesitate about selecting it. In my humble opinion, however, the valley of the St. Lawrence River and of the Great Lakes by climate, by fertility of soil, by mineral wealth, and by facility of transportation is the most blessed region on the earth's surface. How quickly man has realized its wealth is proved by the string of great cities which have sprung up over night like those large puffballs that are found in our woods. The list of them is a proof of my contention: Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Rochester, Buffalo, Toledo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Duluth, not to mention many other beautiful and wealthy cities which are disappointed by the official figures of the census report.

Today the value of every acre of this region is easily recognized, and I can imagine the howl of protest should it be proposed to give a few square miles on the American side to the Dominion of Canada for the purpose of rectifying the bound-

[1] Read at the state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at Duluth, July 28, 1922, and at a meeting of the executive council of the society on October 9, 1922. The original title of the paper was "How Minnesota Was Saved from the British, 1783–1818."

ary. If the present British prime minister should have the hardihood to suggest such a measure, it would be well for him to make preparations for war, for nothing short of blood could wash out such an insult.

This evening we are to consider a period in the history of this region when its value as a place of human habitation was not yet recognized and the alienation of thousands of square miles could be proposed to American officials by British ministers without giving great offense and even with some assurance of consideration. Yes, even men of high position in the American government were willing to second such proposals. What were a few thousand square miles of wilderness between friends? In order to understand this attitude we must eliminate from our minds all that knowledge which has become a part of our consciousness during the last hundred years or more and try to look at international problems touching the western part of America with that same ignorance of coming events as blinded the men of the generation which watched the eighteenth century pass over into the nineteenth.

If you want a plumb line to fathom the typical mind of the eighteenth century, you can find none better than in the sayings and writings of the great Dr. Samuel Johnson, the lexicographer, whose daily opinion has been preserved for us by the greatest of all biographers, James Boswell. At one time, just before the outbreak of the American Revolution, the inimitable Samuel wrote a pamphlet about Canada and the West, which had been won for the British Empire by the French and Indian War. He wrote that "large tracts of America were added by the last war to the British dominions," but that they were at best "only the barren parts of the continent, the refuse of the earlier adventurers, which the French, who came last, had taken only as better than nothing." [2]

[2] *Works*, 5:414 (London, 1825).

Here is another statement. This was written in 1789 by William Knox, who had lived many years in America and probably knew North America as well as any contemporary Englishman. He prophesied that the Americans could not settle the western territory for ages and that for this reason it must be given up to barbarism like the plains of Asia and the population would be as unsettled as the Scythians and the Tartars.[3] Do you men and women of Minnesota recognize yourselves in the Scythians and the Tartars? I have no doubt some of our friends from Massachusetts and New York would find the simile very just when they think of our Nonpartisan League, our Farm Bloc, and our insistence on a deep waterway from Duluth for ocean-going vessels.

Few Americans had a clearer conception of the future of the West than did Benjamin Franklin. He had studied its every feature in his desire to participate in its colonization; he was a partner in three colonial schemes; he had studied the growth of population most carefully and had a vision of our future greatness. Even Franklin, for all his study and wisdom, thought it would be "some centuries" before the population would number a hundred million.[4]

You perceive then that our present-day appreciation of the value of the Great Lakes region and the Mississippi Valley cannot be read back into the eighteenth century, for if it is, we shall become hopelessly confused. We shall become angry at the British for making what appears to our present-day understanding preposterous demands, and we shall wrongfully condemn American officials who were ready to make concessions in the interests of peace. As I have already said we must force our view of the West into conformity with that of an eighteenth-century man, who might well have declared: "What are a few thousand miles of wilderness between

[3] William Knox, *Extra Official State Papers*, 2:49 (London, 1789).
[4] *Writings*, 4:55 (Smyth edition, New York and London, 1905–07).

friends?" He could not look into the future and behold in a gazing crystal the beautiful cities located throughout the West; the crystal did not reveal a wealthy metropolis spreading itself over the muddy banks of the Chicago River; nor did it show to him the sturdy form of Henry Ford and his city of "flivvers." These things have come into being, but our forefathers could not imagine them.

In the game of diplomatic poker in which these golden acres of the Great Lakes region and the upper valley of the Mississippi were the chips, the Americans opened the first jack pot. The player for our side was Benjamin Franklin and all he held was a pair of jacks and a monumental bluff. It was in the year 1782 when the war in America was languishing. Lord North had been replaced by an ardent friend of humanity and a sincere admirer of Franklin, Lord Shelburne. Like Franklin, Shelburne dreamed of universal peace and the millenium brought about by the preponderance of business men in world politics. The preponderance of financial interests has come, but we are seemingly far from the dream of these eighteenth-century philosophers.

When Shelburne sent his friend Richard Oswald to Paris to discuss the terms of peace with Franklin, the two soon agreed that the basis of peace should be safety from future conflicts and disputes. At this point Franklin opened the famous jack pot. He pointed out that in a new country like America danger of disagreement would always come from the back countries, where dwelt lawless pioneers, whose disputes would be a constant source of international bickerings. His proposal was, therefore, that England give up to the United States not only all the West but also all Canada and thus do away once for all with dangerous boundary disputes. The audacity of the proposal can be appreciated when you realize that at the time British troops occupied forts on the lakes from Niagara to Mackinac and that their Indian and white partisans roamed at will as far south as the Ohio River. The Ameri-

cans occupied Pittsburgh and had settlements in Kentucky as far west as Louisville, but on the north side of the Ohio there were no American troops, although there were a few spies at Kaskaskia and Vincennes. Nor had the colonists ever exercised dominion over this vast region except for the small territory in the Illinois country south of the Illinois River, which was occupied by George Rogers Clark's troops during the years 1778 to 1780. Strangely enough, there seems to be evidence that Lord Shelburne considered this proposal of Franklin's, although it never again came to diplomatic discussion. Its influence may have remained, however, as an active force in the British minister's mind, if we may judge from the outcome. It soon became evident that there were influences at work in Spain and France, also parties to the peace negotiations, which might throw all the territory bounded by the Ohio and the Mississippi into the lap of the British Empire. There is no doubt that the British negotiators could have easily drawn the boundary line at the Ohio, had they so wished. Here then were the two extremes: America to have all British Canada and the West, on the one hand; Great Britain to retain all Canada and the region that we call the Old Northwest, on the other hand. Neither American nor British negotiators expected one or the other. A compromise line was in the minds of both.

The first line proposed by the American commissioners and accepted tentatively by the British ministry had an historical basis which I have no time to discuss. It followed approximately the present line in the East to where the forty-fifth parallel touches the St. Lawrence River, then it ran northwest to Lake Nipissing, and thence westward to the Mississippi. This would have placed most of Ontario in the United States, but would have thrown into Canada all the territory north of approximately the southern bank of Lake Superior. The people of northern Minnesota just missed being born "Canucks."

The record is not sufficiently clear to show the forces which led to the reopening of the question about the line. There have been several suggested interpretations, but I am not going to enter into the intricacies of a dispute that has an interest only to the academic mind. But it is time to turn our attention from the exchange of gentlemanly notes by diplomats and investigate a certain Ethiopian gentleman who was mixed up in some way with the supply of fuel. His outcries disturbed undoubtedly the peace negotiations. His name was Business, spelled with a big *B*, and he was to be a disturbing force in all the relations of the British Empire and the United States for a couple of generations, in fact until the boundary line was run way across the continent to the Pacific.

I have said that no one could foresee the immediate value of these northwestern acres for settlement. They were wilderness and that ended it. There were, however, some men who were directly interested financially in the wilderness and wanted it to remain in its primitive condition in perpetuity. These were the fur-traders. They knew that settlement and fur-trading were incompatible. But we are particularly interested in their business, because in their eyes the basin of the Great Lakes was extremely valuable. Here was the home of the fur trade with western centers at Detroit and Mackinac, whence fleets of canoes and Mackinac boats went south, west, and north, many canoes finding their way into the most distant Canadian Northwest by means of the Grand Portage. To these men the location of the boundary line was a weighty consideration. A few thousands of square miles of land might mean nothing, but when the area consisted of valuable fur-raising territory, that was a different matter.

At the time of which we are speaking the most frequented fur land lay around the southern lakes, whence came fifty per cent of American furs. A large band of Canadian traders was accustomed to leave Mackinac in the fall for the Chicago

River portage and buy furs from the Potawatomi, Fox, and Sauk Indians in the region north of the Illinois River. The land lying between Lake Erie and Lake Michigan was still an important hunting ground. A few years later these more southern haunts were esteemed less valuable as the regions both to the north and on the upper Missouri became more widely known. But you must remember that the territory around the southern lakes was in 1782 still held in very high esteem for the fur trade or you will misunderstand the negotiations for peace and later events.

The fur-traders were not without political influence. Many important merchants of London, Bristol, and the Scottish ports were directly interested financially in these far western speculations. They were the suppliers of the Canadian merchants who in turn outfitted the fur-traders. There was thus a close bond uniting the man trading among the Minnesota lakes and the British firms. And needless to say these British firms had personal relations with members of Parliament.

There was in this case a more powerful and politically more direct line of influence than the foregoing implies. The Canadian fur trade was in the hands of Scotchmen. If you are to understand the intricacies of international relations between Great Britain and the United States between 1782 and 1818, you must have a realization of Scotch political influence. When England and Scotland were united politically in 1707, there were assigned to the northern country forty-five members of the House of Commons. Not a large number, but we have experienced in our politics the influence wielded by a small bloc, and forty-five votes if united form a power in any legislative body. The Scotch forty-five furnish one of the most illuminating examples in history of the power of such a bloc. For over a hundred years these forty-five members voted as a unit with every administration. So consistent was the voting that one facetious member of this

Scottish cohort said — this occurred late in the eighteenth century — that the king should always choose as the Scottish leader, that is as lord advocate, a tall man, so that Scottish members could see, when there was a division, how they were expected to vote. In the eighteenth century members of Parliament did not generally give their vote except for an equivalent. Of course, we have become more moral. The Scotch asked and received their pay. Scotchmen entered into office all over the empire. A very large percentage of British officials in the American colonies were from the land of heather. The East India Company was amenable to political influence and the government of Great Britain's far eastern dependency has practically been molded by Scotchmen. Lord Shelburne's ministry in 1782 could not have lasted a day without those forty-five Scotch votes. Do you catch a distinct view of that "nigger in the woodpile" of whom I spoke? The fur-trading fraternity of Scotland exercised its influence, and, although the British ministry had already agreed on one line, the question had to be reopened.

The next information we have is that the American commissioners were obliged to propose two lines, one of which was to be selected by the British ministry as the final boundary. One of these is the present boundary through the middle of the lakes. The alternative proposed was the forty-fifth parallel of latitude from the Connecticut River westward to the Mississippi. Had this latter been selected the southern half of Ontario would have fallen to the United States, but Canada would have been given the upper parts of Michigan, of Wisconsin, and of Minnesota east of the Mississippi River, namely, the great ore-bearing territory. To be more specific, the campus of the University of Minnesota would have lain south of the proposed line, but all north of it would have been in the territory of our neighbor. The importance of the final choice of the British ministry may be understood in the light of later events. More than the iron mines were at

stake. The delimitation of the territory west of the Mississippi River was to become a vital issue during the first half of the nineteenth century. Had our northern boundary east of that river been the forty-fifth parallel the British would have had a strong argument for the continuance of it farther west. The home of the Nonpartisan League might have been Canadian; but before the drawing of the Trans-Mississippi boundary became an issue the forty-ninth parallel had secured force by the weight of tradition, and both countries acted on the assumption, without much investigation, that it was the historical boundary.

The arguments that led to the selection by the British of the middle of the lakes line is apparent. The fur-traders wished to retain their rights and property on Lakes Ontario and Erie and that desire was the paramount influence in the period under discussion. Thus the present boundary was selected. The British permitted contemporary interests to outweigh future considerations.

After the preliminaries were signed — November, 1782 — and the knowledge of the boundary agreed upon became more generally extended among the fur-trading gentry, there was a very loud uproar. Niagara gone, Detroit gone, Mackinac and Green Bay gone, the Grand Portage gone. Nothing seemed left. This indignation was stronger because it was known that with the help of Spain and the silence of France a much more favorable boundary could have been secured. Lord Shelburne was now out of office; his work in the interest of future peace was done; and his former opponents were obliged to complete the treaty and to defend it against criticism. During the course of the defense there was developed by means of political propaganda the belief that on account of the stubbornness of the American commissioners the settled boundary was forced upon the British ministry. Such was the defense that was made in Parliament and it was generally accepted by the public. This purely political explanation will

not satisfy the demands for truth made by the critical historian, however. There were, of course, many forces at work during the treaty negotiations; but in the final determination of the boundary line we must give the greatest credit to those two lovers of humanity, Lord Shelburne and Benjamin Franklin.

Shelburne in 1797, after the British finally evacuated the lake ports, explained his attitude at the time of the treaty negotiations to a friend in Philadelphia in the following words: "I must express to you the satisfaction I have felt in seeing the forts given up. I may tell you in confidence what may astonish you, as it did me, that up to the very last debate in the House of Lords, the Ministry did not appear to comprehend the policy upon which the boundary line was drawn, and persist in still considering it as a measure of necessity not of choice. However it is indifferent who understands it. The deed is done; and a strong foundation laid for eternal amity between England and America." [5]

So many were the influences brought to bear upon the ministry of Lord North and Fox, which succeeded that of Lord Shelburne, that negotiations were started for a commercial treaty by which some of the loss sustained in the treaty of peace might be repaired. These failed, and it was decided to postpone the negotiations to a later day. The delay was to last eleven years. Meanwhile the British ministry attempted to save the fur-traders from losses by not fulfilling the agreement to withdraw British troops from the lake forts at Niagara, Detroit, and Mackinac. In fact orders to that purpose were sent to Canada at the time the definitive treaty with the United States was signed. Excuses for this evasion of the stipulation of the treaty were easy to find in the failure of the United States to secure for British merchants the payment of past debts and in the mistreatment of the loyalists.

[5] Edmond Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne . . . With Extracts from his Papers and Correspondence*, 2:202 n. (London 1912).

These were mere excuses. The retention of the posts on the lakes was prolonged in accordance with the wishes of the fur-traders, who insisted on the need of time to wind up their business in the West. But instead of curtailing their enterprises the Canadian merchants extended them during the next few years, while British ministers consistently refused to take up the question of the postponed commercial treaty or to consider the withdrawal of the troops from the territory of the United States.

Thus endeth the first lesson. I have dwelt somewhat at length over this first episode in the history of the northwest boundary because it was necessary to explain the various forces that affected the situation. It will be possible to pass in review the later developments more speedily.

A new force arose immediately after the treaty was made and was to increase in importance as the years passed by. The influx of American settlers into the Ohio Valley threatened the life of the fur trade, but their settlements offered another advantage to British merchants and manufacturers. New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans were competing for the profits to be made by supplying these settlements of the new West with merchandise. In many ways Canadians had an advantage. British goods were cheaper and better, and the water communication via the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes was excellent. By 1783 Canadian merchants were trading with Kentucky; and this new business increased with surprising rapidity, so that it had become a factor of importance in the minds of more than one British minister. It was bound in time to become the controlling force in the policy toward Canada and the West. It, therefore, behooved British politicians to find some pretext for permanently holding Niagara, Detroit, and the other lake posts, or so to change the northern boundary as to give Canada direct communication with the Mississippi Valley. Recognizing the necessity of conforming to the stipulations

of the treaty concerning the lakes, the policy of the British from about the year 1792 till after the treaty of Ghent, which closed the War of 1812, was directed to changing the northern boundary in order to secure for Canada the desired connection with the growing population within the Mississippi Valley.

The British and American commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Paris in 1783 did not carry with them a boatload of experts, mostly professors, to furnish them with the necessary information concerning the countries involved. Had they done so, possibly one egregious blunder might have been avoided. In the second article of the treaty is contained the delimitation of the boundary. It ran from Grand Portage through Rainy Lake to the northwestern corner of the Lake of the Woods and thence westward to the Mississippi. Of course, the line from the Lake of the Woods was impossible, as the source of the Mississippi lay well to the south. There was thus left a gap of approximately 175 miles in the boundary. The mistake was due to a fault in the map which was used.

The necessity of correcting this error was utilized by the British as an excuse for reopening the question of the boundary. George Hammond, the British minister to Philadelphia, learned of this error at the time that the Americans were beseeching for a commercial treaty and for the withdrawal of British troops from American posts on the lakes. Hammond immediately saw the value of this opening and talked the matter over with his friend, Alexander Hamilton, the secretary of the treasury. The relations of the United States with European countries were at the moment complicated by the French Revolution, and these international affairs intensified party enmity in the states. Thomas Jefferson, the secretary of state, favored France, whereas Hamilton believed that the young country's best interests would be served by

drawing close to England in the war which threatened. He was therefore ready to listen favorably to Hammond's argument.

This was as follows: The eighth article of the treaty of peace guaranteed England's right to the navigation of the Mississippi River. The clause was inserted in the treaty when there was some chance that England would retain possession of East and West Florida and would therefore be interested in the navigation of the river at its mouth. This reservation had no connection with the boundary article, which was number 2. Hammond proposed that the northern boundary be so modified that British subjects could reach the navigable waters of the Mississippi, or in other words that the boundary line be run southward to below the Falls of St. Anthony.

Alexander Hamilton believed that there was brewing a war with Spain and that it would be advisable for the United States to purchase England as an ally by a concession of these four thousand square miles. On October 31, 1792, in a cabinet meeting he advocated just such a measure. He proposed giving to England the territory desired, and he was aided and abetted by his faithful and not too intelligent follower, Henry Knox, the secretary of war. The opposition to this proposal was led by the secretary of state. Jefferson knew the West and had an abiding faith in its rapid development, and certainly no American statesman has done so much to promote the interest of this region as has he. He was not unprepared to meet Hamilton's arguments, for he had previously talked this subject over with the British minister and had pointed out that the error in the boundary could be and should be rectified without a large territorial cession by the United States. He gave no weight to the argument that the right of Great Britain to navigate the Mississippi necessitated the alienation of United States territory that British subjects

might enjoy accessibility to navigable waters. President Washington closed the discussion by the remark that the "remedy was worse than the disease."

This effort by Hammond was only a preparatory game of bluff. The real contest was to come two years later. Great Britain was now at war with the French revolutionists and was more amenable to reason as it was expounded by the United States. For the expounding Washington selected John Jay, who was instructed to negotiate the commercial treaty, so long delayed, to secure the vacating of the lake posts, and to close up such other open sores as affected the relations between the two countries.

Lord Grenville, who conducted the negotiations for England, brought forward the question of the rectification of the boundary as one of the objects most pressing. He had before him a memorial concerning the West in which the writer laid great stress on securing access to the population of the Mississippi Valley in order that British merchants might enjoy the profits of the growing trade. The choice of two lines was the option offered Jay by the British minister. One extended from the present site of the city of Duluth westward to the Red Lake River, which was supposed to be a branch of the Mississippi. The line was impossible because the river chosen is a branch of the Red River of the North and so a gap in the boundary would still have been left. Nevertheless, if this line had been accepted, that greatly desired Grand Portage would have belonged to the British Empire. The other line proposed was to run from the junction of the St. Croix with the Mississippi northward to the already established boundary. This would have given Canada an entering wedge of land extending to below the site of St. Paul. In the treaty of 1794 John Jay managed to yield almost everything demanded by Great Britain and it seems almost incomprehensible that he should have hesitated about giving up

such a bauble as thirty or thirty-five thousand square miles of territory containing the future sites of Duluth, St. Paul, and the campus of the University of Minnesota. Fortunately the real fame of Minnesota was not endangered in this negotiation; the site of "Gopher Prairie" was not in dispute. Jay did not yield in this instance. He hummed and he hawed, he looked at the map and then at Lord Grenville and finally said that the map seemed uncertain about the course of the river involved and he thought it would be well to appoint a joint commission to investigate. The British were, therefore, obliged to be satisfied with the postponement of any decision.

Grenville did in Article 3 of the treaty secure one right demanded by the fur-traders. This granted freedom to each country to use the portage waters, and it prohibited the laying of duty by either country on peltries or on goods and effects of the Indians who might pass the boundary. By this clause the fur trade of the Old Northwest was legally secured to the British even though they were forced to give up the lake posts, which they did in 1796.

The next movement to settle the boundary came from the United States. In the fall of 1802 the negotiations were opened with the object of securing the consent of the British to the most direct and just means of correcting the error, namely, by running a line from the headwaters of the Mississippi to the Lake of the Woods. This time the negotiations were successful and on May 12, 1803, the most direct line between the two points was agreed upon.

At the same time, however, there had culminated in Paris certain negotiations which ended rather unexpectedly in the purchase of Louisiana, thus giving the United States the territory west of the proposed line, or possibly so, for the northern limits of Louisiana were unknown. The Senate of the United States, not wishing to impair in any way the rights

that had been acquired to the region west of the Mississippi, struck out the clause of the agreement with Great Britain establishing the boundary line. At the same time Secretary of State Madison laid claim to the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary of Louisiana. Thus the error of 1783 was united with a greater issue — the boundary of the territory stretching to the Rocky Mountains, a subject into which I have no time to enter this evening. Enough for us to know that the convention of 1803 was not ratified, nor did an attempt in 1807 to settle the issue end in a definite agreement. From the negotiations, however, it was evident that British ministers seemed ready to accept the forty-ninth parallel as marking the boundary of Louisiana, although that line from ignorance was based on a purely fortuitous circumstance.

The story of the closing of the boundary line of 1783 might very well end at this point, for the next attempt on the part of the British to rectify the international boundary is not connected so definitely with the previous negotiations; but since that attempt aimed at the alteration of the whole boundary of the Great Lakes region, it is one of the most interesting of the series of events we are considering. The War of 1812 is generally depicted as a war waged to protect our rights on the sea, which the British were continuously disregarding. They overhauled our vessels and impressed our seamen into their service. There can be no doubt that the popular slogan that aroused the people to a war pitch was connected with the wrongs suffered by our sailors on the ocean. But the men who forced our country into the war were Westerners and their irritation at the British arose out of western conditions; they resented the continued exploitation of the fur trade by Canadians within the boundaries of the United States and the influence exercised by them over the American Indians, who were bound by economic interests to the men of the northern dominion. This condition lies at the basis of the Western-

ers' hostility to Great Britain, and it was this western hostility which Henry Clay and the new men in Congress voiced. The stalwart and rather blunt provincialism of the West brought on the war, which these Westerners thought would be quickly ended by their prowess. Clay was only voicing the opinion of his neighbors when he boasted that the militia of Kentucky alone could conquer Canada.

We didn't conquer Canada, in fact we were beaten back. Our ships were driven from the sea, our troops did not win one considerable victory, except the battle of New Orleans, which was fought after the treaty of peace was signed. We did suffer the humiliation of invasion, and the public buildings at Washington were burned. From a military and naval point of view we were beaten. Moreover the British had had some very irritating experiences. There had been rather decisive, although small, American victories on the lakes and on the ocean. These called for retribution, and the editors of British newspapers were loud in their demands for punishment. The negotiations for peace occurred just at the moment of England's greatest exhaltation in Europe. Napoleon had been overthrown. England was everywhere regarded as a savior of civilization, and her people were willing to accept the glory which had come to them.

They had made peace in Europe, but in one insignificant part of the world they had failed to convince the people of the power of the British Empire. The newspapers made of the American situation their main news items and the subject of editorial comment. " The London Times, the Morning Post, the Sun, the Courier, were incessant in their demands, and beyond all others abusive in their language. James Madison, according to these journals, was a despot in disguise, a liar, an impostor, and the most abject of the many abject tools of Napoleon. The Government of the United States was, in the opinions of their editors, the most unprincipled . . . on

the face of the earth — a Government not only insensible to shame, but destitute of that brutish quality of being beaten into a sense of its worthlessness and incapacity." They didn't know when they were whipped. [6]

These newspaper editors demanded a dictated peace and wished the war to be continued until such a result was secured. Their demands may be enumerated somewhat as follows: "No Yankee must ever again be allowed to catch a fish or dry it on the coasts of Nova Scotia, or Labrador, or the Magdalen Islands, or of Newfoundland. Louisiana must be given up. A large piece of Maine must be ceded. Control of the St. Lawrence river must be secured to Canada by surrendering a strip of New York north of a line drawn from Plattsburgh to Sackett's Harbor. Troops must be withdrawn from the posts in the Northwest, and the safety of Canada yet further secured by the acquisition of the eastern banks of the Niagara river and the formation of an Indian territory reaching from Sandusky to the Kaskaskia." [7]

Such was the state of public opinion in England when the instructions to the peace commissioners to Ghent were drawn up by the British ministry. Naturally the thought uppermost in their minds was to make the peace prove to the Americans the success of the empire, which the imperial troops apparently had failed to do. Fortunately for America there were chosen as British peace commissioners men of mediocre intelligence and of no political weight. They were met by the ablest men in America. Three of the five American commissioners were Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay. There was lack of harmony among them but no lack of intelligence, and they saved for America what was so nearly lost by our army.

[6] John B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, 4:260 (New York, 1896).

[7] McMaster, *United States*, 4:261.

The American commissioners had come prepared to discuss the questions involved in the rights of neutral ships and in the impressment of American seamen, but they found much to their surprise that the British commissioners were not intending to discuss these issues so paramount in American eyes. Nor were they discussed nor did they enter into the final treaty. The British commissioners found in their instructions three paramount issues, and they were told that the British demands concerning these must be accepted or there would be no treaty. These issues were the limiting of the fishing rights of Americans on the Canadian coast, the rectifying of the Northwest boundary, and the creation of a neutral Indian state. The first of these need not detain us, although its acrimonious discussion created dissensions between Adams and Clay. The last two issues are of importance to us.

The British fur-traders still had their eyes on the Grand Portage, and their influence was sufficient to make one of the proposed conditions of peace the alteration of the boundary by removing its starting point on Lake Superior from the Pigeon River to the St. Louis. Duluth was again in jeopardy. The third *sine qua non* of the British commissioners reminds us of that nervy bluff of Benjamin Franklin, when he suggested in 1782 that the British Empire throw in Canada for good measure. The British now demanded the erection of a neutral Indian state between Canada and the United States. Its southern boundary was to follow the line of the Indian treaty of 1795 at Greenville, made by Anthony Wayne. This would have thrown into this buffer state northwestern Ohio, most of Indiana, all Illinois, and the states to the north of them. The true Anglo-Saxon, wherever he dwells, is able to clothe his diplomatic demands in the language of philanthrophy. The British argued that their allies, the Indians of the Northwest, had been badly treated by the American settlers. They were constantly being driven

from their hunting grounds and obliged to abandon the graves of their ancestors. Furthermore, in their present state the Indian tribes were a source of international irritation. Canada also had its Indian problem, and it was proposed to throw the Canadian West into this new Indian state, all to be under the kindly and fatherly care of the British Empire. The American commissioners were assured that these conditions were the *sine qua non* of peace. Of course, such terms could not be considered, and Albert Gallatin and his companions began to pack their trunks. They lingered over the process, however, long enough for their opponents to receive further instructions.

The British ministry was far more interested in the European situation as it was unfolding itself at Vienna. Canada and the interests of Canada were, after all, very remote. The valley of the Great Lakes apparently touched British interests very slightly, in spite of the noisy editorials in the newspapers. The ministers took thought before allowing the negotiations to be broken off. They finally asked the opinion of the most popular man in England, the Duke of Wellington. Two questions they asked of him, first, his opinion about going himself to America and leading the British arms to victory; second, what he thought of making an issue over a cession of territory. The Duke of Wellington was a man of good common sense, not given to chasing will-of-the-wisps. He replied that he would go to America, if ordered; but he didn't regard it as worth while. And as to the demand for territory he felt certain that the success of the British arms had not been sufficient to warrant the making an issue of it. The advice seemed wise, and the British peace commissioners were instructed to withdraw their *sine qua non*. Since the American commissioners had already given up hope of securing any guarantee of American rights on the high seas, there was nothing to be done but to declare a peace and a return to conditions as they were before the war. This was done.

Thus ended the game of international poker in which part of the future state of Minnesota was one of the chips. It had gone on intermittently for thirty-two years, from 1782 to 1814, but no change had been effected since the time when the preliminaries of peace were signed in 1782. By the convention of 1818 this particular phase of the boundary question was closed forever by delimiting the two countries west of the Mississippi by the forty-ninth parallel as far as the Rocky Mountains. The fate of Minnesota was finally determined. It was to be built by the labor of American men and women; its industries were to be developed under the laws and administration of the great republic of the south.

During the War of 1812 both the British Empire and the United States had built many armed vessels on the Great Lakes. After the cessation of hostilities the issue immediately arose whether the two countries would enter into competition in building fleets for the protection of their boundary. The issue was even more comprehensive, for it would mean were this competition entered upon, the erection of large forts along the boundary line. The jingoes of both countries demanded just such a warlike competition. The honor of country, they argued, demanded such a preparation for war. The issue really wavered in the balance. Fortunately, better counsels prevailed and there took place in 1817 that now famous exchange of diplomatic notes by which each country limited its armed vessels to what was needed for police duty. Thus without formal treaty there has existed for over a hundred years the most important boundary agreement in the history of the world; it creates a boundary unprotected by vessels bristling with guns and without thick steel fortresses capable of withstanding the attack of armies. It is a boundary of peace, offering to a war-sick world an object lesson and a hope.

Such it should be, for the boundary line was conceived in the love of humanity, and Canadians and Americans by their

respect for the rights of others have raised a great monument to the two men who loved mankind and longed for universal peace, the two men who originally drew this boundary and who knew that they had laid as one of them wrote "a strong foundation for eternal amity between England and America." So long as this line remains as a boundary of peace between two nations of friends, so long will it endure as a glorious monument to Benjamin Franklin and Lord Shelburne.

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
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THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION AT DULUTH

The holding of a state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society in Duluth on July 28 and 29, 1922, was an unprecedented event, for no meeting outside Minneapolis or St. Paul had been called previously by the society in all the years since 1849, when the institution was founded. By the historical interest it aroused and the enthusiasm it evoked the summer meeting at Duluth proved that the policy of extending the activities of the society among the people in this fashion is productive of worth while results. It is safe to say that the Duluth meeting was the first in a series of state-wide annual historical conventions which will prove an important factor in the popular dissemination of information about Minnesota history. That local historical activity will be encouraged as the importance of state history becomes recognized more fully seems certain. This in turn should mean the more careful garnering of the records of Minnesota's past, and a general stimulus to historical thinking.

The convention at Duluth was held upon the invitation of the Duluth Chamber of Commerce and members of the society in that city. The chamber of commerce joined the Minnesota Historical Society in extending cordial invitations to Minnesotans to attend the convention, for the purpose of the meeting was to bring together as many people as possible who are interested in the history of Minnesota. Local historical societies and old settlers' associations throughout the state were asked, therefore, to send representatives to the convention, and members of the society and others interested were invited to attend.

A general committee of the society was appointed to have charge of the meeting, with Mr. Gideon S. Ives of St. Paul, ex-president of the society, as chairman, and Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the society, as secretary. The other members of this committee were Mr. Elmer E. Adams of Fergus Falls; Mr. Fred S. Bell of Winona; Captain Fred A. Bill, Mr. John M. Bradford, Mrs. Charles E. Furness, and Mr. James M. McConnell, of St. Paul; Judge William A. Cant, Mr. William E. Culkin, and Mr. William A. McGonagle, of Duluth; Mrs. Marshall H. Coolidge, Mr. Edward C. Gale, Dr. William E. Leonard, Mr. Levi Longfellow, Professor Andrew A. Stomberg, and Mr. Paul J. Thompson, of Minneapolis; Miss Bertha Hinshaw of Hibbing; Mr. Hiram M. Hitchcock of Redwood Falls; Mr. Thomas Hughes of Mankato; Mayor Victor E. Lawson of Willmar; Mr. Olai A. Lende of Canby; Mr. William B. Mitchell of St. Cloud; Mr. Richard D. Musser of Little Falls; Mr. Henry Oldenburg of Carlton; the Reverend Francis L. Palmer of Stillwater; Mr. Andrew D. Stephens of Crookston; and Mr. John R. Swann of Madison.

The committee on local arrangements was headed by Mr. Culkin, the other members being Mr. Luther B. Arnold, Mrs. Archibald T. Banning, Mrs. Julia M. Barnes, Mr. Edward C. Congdon, Judge Josiah D. Ensign, Mrs. N. Fred Hugo, Mr. Trevanion W. Hugo, Congressman Oscar J. Larson, Mrs. John R. McGiffert, and Mr. Luke A. Marvin, of Duluth, and Mr. Fred Bessette of Orr.

About fifteen Minneapolis and St. Paul people gathered at the Historical Building in St. Paul on Thursday morning, July 27, and at 9:00 A.M. started on an automobile tour to Duluth. After a delightful trip the party reached that city about 6:00 P.M. Other visitors came by train or automobile and when the registration during the convention was completed it was found that in all 51 members of the society

attended the meeting, 19 of whom were residents of Duluth. Non-members who registered numbered 130, and of these 92 were from Duluth. Thus of a total registration of 181, those from outside the city of Duluth numbered 70. The actual attendance at the meetings, it should be added, was considerably larger than these figures indicate, for many persons failed to leave their names at the registration desk.

All the sessions of the convention were held in the Memorial Hall at the St. Louis County Court House. In the large corridor approaching this hall an interesting array of war posters, collected by Mr. Henry L. Stafford, was displayed. The registration booth was situated in this corridor, but the convention headquarters were established nearby at the chamber of commerce. As a courtesy to the visitors the privileges of the chamber of commerce and of the Duluth Boat Club were extended to all who wore the convention badge. The two days of the convention were so crowded with sessions and other stated events that few of the visitors found time to indulge in the pleasures of canoeing or boating. But no one was so busy that he failed to study and to appreciate the picturesque and panoramic scenes afforded from the heights of the city — the majestic sweep of Lake Superior, the great wharves and gigantic ships, the far-flung line of the city hugging the north shore.

The first session began on Friday, July 28, at 10:00 A.M., with Mr. Jed L. Washburn of Duluth acting as the presiding officer. An address of welcome was delivered by the mayor of Duluth, Mr. Samuel F. Snively. After speaking first of the French and the contributions which they, as early explorers who "followed the path of the great inland seas," made to the history of the Northwest, the mayor called attention to various other racial elements that have gone into the making of Minnesota, particularly stressing the importance of those peoples who have possessed the heritage of constitu-

tional liberty. Speaking for Duluth, the mayor then welcomed the visitors cordially and expressed his good wishes for the success of the convention.

The response on behalf of the society was made by Mr. Ives, who first pointed out that one object of the summer meeting was to acquaint the people of the state with the work of the Minnesota Historical Society. He then told of the founding of the institution in 1849 and described the varied activities of the society since that time. Mr. Ives emphasized the value to the state of a thorough understanding of its past and pointed out that this implies that the mistakes as well as the successes will be studied with profit. In this connection he described the ruinous policy of the past with reference to the great forests of the region and urged the adoption of a comprehensive policy of reforestation. Another present need to which he directed attention is the adequate protection of the headwaters of the Mississippi.

The first formal paper presented was a study of "The Origin and Early History of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota," by Dr. John D. Hicks, professor of history at Hamline University, St. Paul.[1] Owing to the absence of Dr. Hicks, the paper was read by Mr. Cecil W. Shirk, the society's field secretary. The paper was based upon a careful examination of manuscripts, newspapers, and other sources in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society and is one of a series of studies by the author on aspects of the "agrarian crusade." After a brief introduction relating to the national Farmers' Alliance, an account was presented of the formation of the Minnesota organization in 1881. Its early growth was slow, but "when the fourth meeting of the alliance was held in St. Paul on February 4, 1885, the order was a definite factor to be reckoned with in the politics of the state." At this stage the alliance men were not in favor of

[1] This paper is to be printed in the December, 1922, issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.*

a separate political party, but did look to legislation for the mitigation of alleged farmers' evils. Much of Dr. Hicks's paper was devoted to an analysis of the situation of the Minnesota farmer in the eighties, which was the background of the alliance movement in the state. "The root of the evil was the low price of wheat." Territorial expansion, with the influx of population into wheat-growing territory and the consequent oversupply of wheat in the markets of the world, was an important factor in the situation. In 1884 the Minnesota wheat-grower sold his crop at prices ranging from forty-two to forty-eight cents a bushel. Yet the farmer himself, according to Dr. Hicks, was in part responsible for his own plight, for his over-investment in equipment and his reliance upon the one-crop system contributed to the distress.

A more specific grievance of the farmer was the claim that the cost of transportation, elevator charges, and fees paid to the railways, warehouses, and commission merchants absorbed a large part of the fair share of the selling price to which he was entitled. Thus the railroads became the focus of the farmer's complaints. Excessive and unreasonable rates and discriminations of various sorts were vigorously charged against the railroad companies. Scarcely less sharp was the farmer's condemnation of alleged unfair practices of elevator companies, particularly with reference to the grading of wheat. The result was a demand for legislative redress which led to the remedial laws of 1885 and the creation of the railroad and warehouse commission of that year, a body which "acquitted itself creditably considering the handicaps under which it worked."

A new mobilization of farmer forces began in 1886, more aggressive political action was threatened, and in 1887 a revision of the railroad and warehouse commission act of 1885, by enlarging the powers of that body, brought comfort to the alliance. The most important features of the new act, its rate-making provisions, were eventually ruled unconstitutional

by the United States Supreme Court. Dr. Hicks closed with a survey of the later history of the alliance, but did not tell in detail the story of its entrance into politics as a distinct third party. He believes that, although the farmer's organizations usually have fallen to pieces, his organized protests have "forced the older parties to take up his cause, and to grant him concession after concession."

The Governor of Minnesota, the Honorable Jacob A. O. Preus, who had come to Duluth to study the Minnesota coal supply problem in relation to the coal strike, was present during the reading of this paper and was invited to open the discussion. Apropos of the function of third parties the Governor pointed out that they brought forward ideas some of which were adopted and some of which were corrected by the larger parties. "The Farmers' Alliance," he said, "did a great deal for men as a minority party." As for the solving of the farmers' problems, he asserted that coöperative marketing offers the greatest possibilities. He stressed particularly the point that lack of uniformity in the grading of wheat was the specific cause for stricter regulation and for the forming of the railroad and warehouse commission and the board of grain appeals. The Governor then turned to the coal problem, and analyzed the situation as it affected Minnesota. In closing he pointed out the value of the study of history, asserting that only by drawing upon the wisdom of our fathers, by understanding what has gone before, can we leave to posterity a heritage comparable to that which we ourselves have received.

At the conclusion of the Governor's remarks, Mr. Theodore C. Blegen of Hamline University, St. Paul, was called upon to discuss the paper of Dr. Hicks. He said that the analysis by Dr. Hicks was a valuable contribution to Minnesota history and that students who wish to understand the economic foundations of Minnesota politics are grateful to the author for this and other able papers on the agrarian third parties

and their leaders. Mr. Blegen pointed out that the Farmers' Alliance entered Minnesota politics in 1890 and not only carried a tier of twenty-four western counties for governor but also won the balance of power in the legislature. He called attention to the need for monographic studies of the entire Farmers' Alliance movement in Minnesota and in the country as a whole and also of a thoroughgoing study of the milling industry in the state. It is important, he said, that such studies be carried through by trained scholars in the spirit of impartiality. "The business of the historian is to ascertain the truth from the records, and to set it forth without bias and without fear."

Mr. Adams and Mr. Lawson, whose names appeared on the program for the discussion of the first paper, were unable to be present, but the latter submitted the following brief paper on "The Farmers' Alliance in Kandiyohi County," which he prepared for the occasion and which, as an analysis of the situation in a typical county, merits publication in full.

THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE IN KANDIYOHI COUNTY

Perhaps conditions as they existed in Kandiyohi County were more or less typical of other counties of the Northwest. At the outset it might be said that the early settlers of Kandiyohi County (not the immigrants so much as the native-born Americans who came from the Eastern states) were somewhat interested in the early Granger movement and many of them supported the Greenback party. In 1876 Harrison Township gave Peter Cooper a majority of the votes cast for president — fifty-one votes to forty-one for Hayes and Tilden together. In 1886 the townships of Burbank, Irving, and Roseville were carried by Benjamin Butler for president.

The alliance movement, however, developed strongly throughout the county. Twenty-two local alliances were organized, the first of which, number 51, was organized in Burbank in December, 1881. It continued in existence until 1893. The last "local" organized was number 1,284 in Fahlun Township in 1892; it continued to function three years. The two largest

"locals" were Lake Lillian with eighty-two members and Dovre with eighty members, both in districts almost exclusively Scandinavian in population. A fair estimate of the number of active members in the county would be about one thousand.

The coöperative business activities of the alliances did not extend beyond buying binding twine or in a few instances other supplies in carload lots. In the case of the Whitefield Alliance, the initiative was taken to organize the Kandiyohi County Farmers' Alliance Elevator Company for the purpose of building and operating a grain elevator at Willmar. This company was organized on August 26, 1896. This business still continues as the Willmar Coöperative Elevator Company and does a large annual business. It is evident that these early alliance organizations in each community brought the people together and that the discussion of common needs gave rise to many of the coöperative enterprises since successfully launched in this county. At the annual county conventions of the alliance resolutions were adopted touching all phases of civic affairs.

It has been a common belief that the decision of the Farmers' Alliance for independent political action was the reason for its decline. In Kandiyohi County this decision was reached after a very exhaustive discussion and it led to many prominent members leaving the movement in order to maintain good standing in the dominant political party organization. On the other hand it is certain that the men who had the responsibility of administering the affairs of coöperative enterprises felt the necessity for legislation that would give them fairer opportunities, and in the absence of the means for making their influence felt in the diplomacy of the legislative lobbies they saw a chance to secure by direct political action what their numbers would seem to warrant. The political Farmers' Alliance was merged later with the People's party and that in turn lost its identity by fusing with the Democrats.

The Equity Society, which is the logical successor of the alliance organization among the farmers for promoting coöperative enterprises, essays to avoid direct political action. There is little doubt, however, that the political problems encountered by the Equity Society in the Northwest led to the organization of the militant political force among the farmers now known as the Nonpartisan League.

At the Kandiyohi County Farmers' Alliance convention held in Willmar in 1890 the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "Whereas, The old political parties have proven unfaithful to their trust and have time and again broken faith with their promises, therefore be it, Resolved, That we favor independent political action and that a full state ticket be put in the field." Other resolutions adopted at the same convention demanded taxation of railroad property on the same basis as farm property; reduction of railroad tariffs; free shipment of grain from side tracks for private individuals; election of senators and president by direct vote; submission of a prohibition amendment to popular vote; enforcement of the government's rights with reference to the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads and its operation of these lines as government railroads. The use of money for the control of elections was denounced.

An attempt to establish a newspaper in full sympathy with the alliance movement was made in 1891, when the *Alliance Standard* was established. It suspended after two or three years of precarious existence. The need for friendly publicity was felt keenly by the farmers after the demise of the *Standard* and at a county alliance meeting held in the fall of 1894 a resolution was adopted pledging one thousand paid-up subscriptions to anyone who would give the county a newspaper that would treat the farmers fairly in their endeavor to secure economic justice. The result was the launching of the *Willmar Tribune* by Dr. Christian Johnson in February, 1895, a newspaper which still survives and has a large circulation in the county. There can be no doubt that the Farmers' Alliance organization left a lasting influence on the civic life of the county and the state.

After this discussion of the Farmers' Alliance, a paper was read on "Early French Explorers of Northern Minnesota, 1660–1743," by Dr. Warren Upham, archeologist of the Minnesota Historical Society. Dr. Upham began by reviewing briefly the western journeys of Groseilliers and Radisson. He then referred to Du Luth, quoting the laconic report of Vaudreuil of May 1, 1710: "Captain Du Lud died this winter; he was a very honest man." After speaking briefly of Jacques de Noyon, Dr. Upham turned to the story of

Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la Vérendrye, and his sons. Considerable attention was given to La Vérendrye, the speaker asserting that a principal motive for the preparation of his paper was to advocate the name Vérendrye for the proposed new Minnesota county adjoining the Lake of the Woods. After a concise summary of present knowledge concerning the explorations of La Vérendrye and his sons, Dr. Upham said, "All that history has recorded concerning Vérendrye leads us to admire and honor him, for his courage amid many obstacles and keen disappointments, for his firm Christian faith under sickness and bereavements, as by the deaths of Jemmeraye and his oldest son, and for his persevering devotion to the interests of Canada and of France. Not less than Du Luth, he was a hero of the far frontier. These men were shining examples of fidelity and self-denial for what they deemed to be duty. For evidences of this spirit, both Du Luth and Vérendrye were outspoken and resolute to refrain from sale or barter of intoxicating liquors to the Indians." Dr. Upham closed with an appreciation of Father Aulneau, whose name is coupled with that of La Vérendrye, and an account of Joseph La France, "a French and Ojibway half-breed who in the years 1740 to 1742 traveled and hunted with the Indians through the northern parts of the area of this state and in Manitoba."

An informal twelve o'clock luncheon at the Chamber of Commerce was attended by many of the visitors and Duluth people at the convention. The afternoon session began at 2:00 P.M., with Mr. Mitchell presiding. The first paper at this session was by Dr. Wayne E. Stevens of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, on "The Fur Trade in Minnesota During the British Régime." This interesting description of the early Minnesota fur trade and fur-traders is to be published in full in the BULLETIN for February, 1923.

Mr. Mitchell next introduced Mr. Arthur T. Adams of Minneapolis, who presented an exhibition of "Pictures Illus-

trating Historic Sites in Minnesota." Mr. Adams indicated that the situation in the state with regard to monuments and markers is sadly in need of reform; his pictures showed that a great many markers have been placed in almost inaccessible places and that their location is not pointed out to passing tourists in any adequate way; many others have been neglected or forgotten; on yet others the inscriptions are inaccurate. As an example he exhibited a picture of Birch Cooley, where rank grass obscures a marker at the scene of the massacre. The monument marking the scene of the Beaver Creek massacre was shown as it lies, toppled over by cattle and utterly neglected. Pictures of numerous other sites and monuments in need of attention were shown by Mr. Adams. He suggested that the state should secure the site of the Lower Agency building on the Minnesota River, the home of Joseph R. Brown, and the spot where Le Sueur built Fort L'Huillier, and set aside these places as state parks which unite natural beauty with historical associations. Mr. Adams then exhibited a number of views of picturesque Minnesota scenes and little-known places of special historical interest.

The next speaker introduced was Dr. Buck, who told "The Story of the Grand Portage from Lake Superior to the Pigeon River." His paper is to be published in full in the next number of the BULLETIN, and therefore need only be mentioned here.

A general discussion followed on "The Importance of Preserving and Marking Historic Sites, Trails, and Landmarks, and How This Can Best Be Accomplished." This discussion was opened by Mrs. Coolidge, state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Asserting that the keynote of the organization which she represented is service, Mrs. Coolidge told of its interest in the marking of historic sites. Fourteen markers or monuments in Minnesota have been erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution, she said. Among these were mentioned the stone at the site of the making of

the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and the marker at the site of the blockhouse of Zebulon M. Pike. The Sibley House, which is administered by the organization, is filled with memorials of General Sibley and "is a great educational factor in the state." Mrs. Coolidge then sketched some of the admirable plans of the Daughters of the American Revolution for the marking of other historic sites and pointed out that interest and money for the work were assured. She closed by suggesting that if the location of historic spots were indicated on road maps greater popular interest in marking the state's historic spots might be aroused.

Mr. Perry Williams, manager of the *Minneapolis Journal* travel and resort bureau, who continued the discussion, asserted that the proper marking and preservation of the state's historic spots have an important bearing on a great industrial opportunity. "Minnesota's wonderful vacation opportunities," he said, "are attracting an ever-increasing flow of tourists to this state. If, in addition to our good roads and our service in guiding visitors over these roads and to their vacation points, we add the constant interest which is aroused by marking the historic places, we will add greatly to the prestige of the state as a place for the vacationist." Mr. Williams then stressed the need for a guidebook to Minnesota's historic places. "Such a book," he said, "should describe briefly the interesting events which make each spot worthy of a mark and also give the method of reaching the various places by railroad and by highway or water as the case may be."

Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the Minnesota Historical Society's museum, who was next introduced by Mr. Mitchell, first told of the work which has been done by the neighboring states of Wisconsin and Iowa to preserve and mark historic sites. In Wisconsin the problem of high cost has been met by the secretary of the archeological

society by "evolving an attractive marker consisting of a slab of stone with a sloping face on which is attached a bronze tablet giving information concerning the spot marked." A great deal has been accomplished in Wisconsin as a result of thoroughgoing coöperation among various agencies interested in historic sites. Iowa has organized its administration of state parks and memorials and achieved excellent results. Mr. Babcock then took up the situation in Minnesota and declared that a state board of parks would have almost unlimited opportunities for carrying through a comprehensive plan for parks and memorials in this state. The Grand Portage region was mentioned as a desirable park site. Indian mounds are rapidly disappearing. Many have been cleared away, but those that remain should be marked in some adequate way. To meet the difficulties of the passing tourist, Mr. Babcock suggested that an added marker should be placed on the highway directing the tourist to the spot where the incident commemorated occurred and that the permanent marker should be at the place of actual occurrence.

Mrs. James T. Morris, national chairman of the historic spots committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution, spoke next, calling attention to one of the most interesting markers in the state, that placed on the old round tower at Fort Snelling in honor of Colonel Henry Leavenworth, the first commander of the fort, which was originally called Fort St. Anthony. This valuable general discussion was closed by Dr. Buck, who told of the plans of the state auditor, Mr. Ray Chase, for preparing a careful report on state parks and memorials in Minnesota and for urging the establishment of a state board to have jurisdiction over such parks and memorials. The Minnesota Historical Society, said Dr. Buck, is coöperating with Mr. Chase in the hope that the state's monuments and historic sites may soon receive the care and supervision which they so urgently need.

A large audience was present for the evening session which began at 8:00 P.M. Mr. Ives presided and first introduced Mr. Trevanion W. Hugo, who read an interesting paper entitled "Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Du Luth, the Original Exploiter of the International Waterway Proposition." The next speaker was Dr. Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Minnesota, whose paper on "How Northern Minnesota Was Saved from the British, 1783-1818," appears, under a somewhat different title, in the present number of the BULLETIN. An interesting special feature of the evening was the presentation of a series of pictures illustrating the history of the city of Duluth. Brief explanations were made, as the views were thrown on the screen, by Mr. Homer C. Fulton of Duluth.

"Minnesota and the World War" was the general theme considered at the morning session on Saturday, July 29, beginning at 10:00 A.M. Mrs. Barnes presided and presented as the first speaker Mr. Elmer W. McDevitt of Duluth, who took as his subject "The American Soldier." He paid tribute to the "determination, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and devotion" of the men who fought under the stars and stripes in the recent war. The World War, he said, introduced a new kind of warfare and the American soldier was hastily trained, but his adaptability and capacity for hard work carried him through the war triumphantly. The speaker then discussed the problem of adjustment which the soldier faced when he returned to civil life.

Lieutenant Governor Louis L. Collins was to have spoken on "Minnesota Troops in the World War," but unfortunately he was unable to be present. A further disappointment was the unavoidable absence of Mr. Julius H. Barnes, who was scheduled to tell of "Some War Time Experiences." Mrs. Barnes called upon Mr. George McCree of St. Paul, who related some of his experiences when enlisting men in Duluth

for the Motor Transport Corps. He called attention particularly to the eagerness shown by applicants, and cited a number of interesting examples. This zealous spirit, in his opinion, may be depended upon to help the United States to triumph over any similar dangers which may arise in the future. The speaker then discussed briefly the coal strike and its relation to the industry of the country.

Mrs. Barnes then called for the report of the convention's committee on resolutions. The following five resolutions, read by Mr. Mitchell, were unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That we express our sincere appreciation of the hospitality of the city of Duluth, of the courtesies extended by the Duluth Chamber of Commerce and the Duluth Boat Club, and especially of the efficient and untiring work of the committee on local arrangements, which has played so large a part in making this first annual convention a success.

RESOLVED, That this convention indorse the proposition for the establishment of a state commission to take over the management of all state parks and to develop a general park system for the state in which historic as well as scenic interests shall receive attention.

RESOLVED, That this convention recommend especially the establishment of a state park to include the Grand Portage from Lake Superior to Pigeon River — the first white man's road in Minnesota — with the site of old Fort Charlotte at the western end of the portage and, if feasible, the Split Rock Canyon and the cascades and falls of the Pigeon River.

RESOLVED, That this convention give its hearty approval to any movement looking toward the preservation and marking of historic sites and trails in Minnesota and urge that a state-wide survey of historic sites be undertaken by the organizations and agencies interested in this work.

RESOLVED, That this convention indorse the proposition that the new county to be formed out of the northern part of Beltrami County be named Vérendrye County in honor of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la Vérendrye, who laid the foundations of the fur trade in the region west of Lake Superior and who in 1732 established Fort St. Charles within the boundaries proposed for the new county.

After the adoption of these resolutions, Mr. Shirk read an account of a visit to old Fort Charlotte and announced that a preliminary examination already had been made of the remains of this historic post and that the Minnesota Historical Society was planning to make a thorough examination and survey of the site in the near future. [2]

Mrs. Barnes then introduced Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook, secretary of the Minnesota War Records Commission, who read a paper entitled "What Minnesota Is Doing to Record Her War History." Aided by local committees, said Mr. Holbrook, the Minnesota War Records Commission has undertaken the collection of state, county, and all other material relating to Minnesota's participation in the recent war. Ultimately, on the basis of the materials collected, a comprehensive documentary history will be published, and already much has been accomplished in the assembling of materials. At first questionnaires sent to service men did not bring an adequate response, but after the state bonus law went into effect an arrangement was made whereby questionnaires were sent out with the bonus forms and as a result information from about eighty per cent of the Minnesota men in the service was obtained. In addition to these, questionnaires have been sent to Red Cross workers and Y.M.C.A. men with interesting results. In coöperation with the historical society, the speaker said, the commission has built up a collection of several hundred photographs of soldiers, of personal narratives, and the like. Various war organizations, such as the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, the War Camp Community Service, the United States Employment Bureau, the Y.M.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A., have turned over an enormous volume of correspondence. "Taken as a whole," said Mr. Holbrook, speaking of these materials, "their contribution to

[2] A brief report of the results of this survey of old Fort Charlotte appears in the society's *Twenty-second Biennial Report*, 28 (St. Paul, 1923).

the interest, fullness, and accuracy of records will be as great or even greater than that to be derived from any other class of records."

The last speaker of the session was Mr. William E. Culkin, chairman of the St. Louis County War Records Committee, who gave an illustrated address on "St. Louis County in the World War." Mr. Culkin said that he had collected approximately ten thousand records of soldiers, with photographs, letters, and newspaper clippings. The purpose of the committee is to make a comprehensive collection, including the records of home activities as well as those of the men and women in the service. The collection as a whole already possesses exceptional value, but in all likelihood its value will continue to increase. From the committee's collection of slides Mr. Culkin had chosen a number to show on the screen as illustrating the nature and value of these records. These pictures illustrated many sides of the experiences of the soldiers and sailors and vividly recalled the varied activities of those who remained at home.

An informal luncheon at the Chamber of Commerce was held at noon, after which there was a discussion of plans for the organization of a St. Louis County Historical Society. The toastmaster, Mr. Congdon, first introduced Dr. Buck, who discussed briefly the possibilities for a local historical society. Dr. Buck made it clear that, although the state society is ready at all times to make suggestions and to coöperate, no successful organization can be effected unless interested persons in the locality take the initiative and prepare the ground. That there is a field for worth while endeavor in the organization of local historical activity is indicated by the work of hundreds of local historical societies throughout the country. Not a great many exist in Minnesota as yet, he said, but the situation is improving steadily. Affiliation of the local with the central society is desirable, in Dr. Buck's

opinion, and he suggested that possibly a branch society might be formed. The speaker then read parts of a proposed constitution for a local society and closed with the suggestion that a committee be appointed to go over the whole matter carefully and, if feasible, take preliminary steps toward organization. [3]

The distinguished historian, Dr. James K. Hosmer of Minneapolis, who was present at the convention, then responded to an invitation from the toastmaster to speak. Dr. Hosmer, who is in his eighty-ninth year and is the author of numerous important historical works, declared that he was steeped in history, that he was, indeed, "an historical inebriate." As a veteran he commended the work of the younger leaders in the historical field in Minnesota, and he complimented the people of Duluth upon their interest in the organization of a local historical society.

Mrs. Merrill of Duluth cordially indorsed the idea of a county historical society and declared that she favored close affiliation with the state society. Mrs. Coolidge, speaking for the Duluth chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, promised active interest and coöperation.

Mr. Culkin then moved and the motion was seconded and carried that the Duluth people present express their approval of the idea of organizing local history work and of affiliating with the state society. It was then decided that the committee on local arrangements for the convention should be continued as a committee on a local historical society. Thus the conference paved the way for constructive action. None of those who were present could doubt that an active historical society in northeastern Minnesota soon would be organized. The necessary foundation of intelligent interest and enthusiasm was there and definite, practical plans were under consideration. A local newspaper, the *Duluth Herald,* in commenting

[3] The proposed constitution is printed in full *ante,* p. 252–256.

editorially on the convention, said appropriately, "It is believed that this important gathering will do much to direct the thoughts of our people to our local history, so full of interest. What a pageant historical reflection on Duluth's past awakens! Indians, traders, missionaries, lumbermen, miners, trappers, fishermen, empire builders pass in mental review."

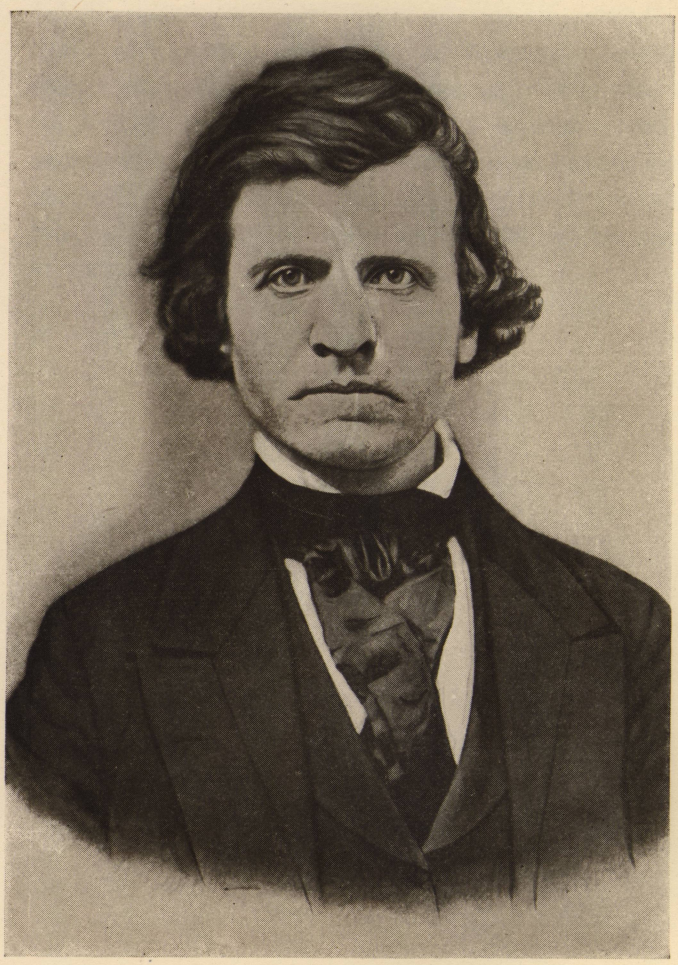
After the luncheon conference an excursion was made, in automobiles provided by the local committee, to Fond du Lac, a place interesting in Minnesota history for its connections with the fur trade and with missionary work among the Indians. Here the members of the convention attended a meeting of the Old Settlers' Association of the Head of Lake Superior. An interesting feature of this meeting was an address by Mr. William E. McEwen of Duluth in which particular attention was devoted to the treaty concluded in 1826 by Governor Lewis Cass and the commissioner of Indian affairs with the Chippewa whereby the latter ceded "the right to search for and carry away, any metals or minerals from any part of their country." As the treaty was signed at Fond du Lac on August 5, 1826, the speaker suggested that plans be made for a celebration of the approaching centennial of this event, urging that a fitting memorial be erected as a part of the celebration. After the meeting the site of the old trading post was inspected. A visit was then made to Jay Cooke State Park, which adjoins the city of Duluth at its northeast line. Here a picnic supper was served, after which the excursion was concluded with a tour of the boulevard in Duluth.

This outing brought the state historical convention to an end. On the following day some of the visitors who attended the meeting started northward toward Grand Portage and Fort William. Others left on tours in other directions or departed for their homes. All were persuaded that the ex-

periment of holding an historical convention in Minnesota had amply justified itself. Interesting historical papers, fruitful discussions, trips to places of historic interest, conversations with people interested in Minnesota history — these things had made the summer meeting a delightful experience for the participants. That the convention served the community of Duluth will be proved if a local history organization is effected; that it served the state as a whole by calling attention to the domain of state history and to the ideals of the historical society seems certain.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL



Yours very Truly
Martin W. Lamb

THE DIARY OF MARTIN McLEOD[1]

In the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society is a small leather-bound notebook by the aid of which the strange tale of a filibustering trip across Minnesota in the autumn of 1836 has come to light. Martin McLeod, the author of the diary, was well known in Minnesota; yet his connection with James Dickson's expedition seems to have been practically unknown until his diary came to the society. Indeed, the expedition itself seems to have been forgotten. Other matters than those centering around Dickson are recorded in the diary's yellowed pages on which the ink has turned to a rust-brown; and for the study of early Minnesota characters and geographic names these entries are of great value. In the main, however, the importance of the book lies in its revelations concerning a trip that had no less than the founding of an empire for its ultimate purpose.

The story of Dickson's filibustering expedition in its entirety is told elsewhere. It is sufficient here to note that a bizarre character appeared in fashionable circles in New York and Washington in the winter of 1835–36, endeavoring, as he then said, to secure recruits to aid the Texans in their struggle for independence. He called himself General James Dickson and told fascinating stories of his life in Mexico and of his service in the Texan army. His striking military dress and a

[1] Edited with introduction and notes by Grace Lee Nute and prepared for the press by Theodore C. Blegen and Bertha L. Heilbron, all of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society. The delay in the publication of the present number of the BULLETIN makes it possible to include in the notes references to the article by Dr. Nute which, under the title "James Dickson: A Filibuster in Minnesota in 1836," is published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10: 127–140 (September, 1923). In the "Notes and Documents" section of the same magazine (p. 173–181) several "Documents Relating to James Dickson's Expedition," edited by Dr. Nute, are printed as a supplement to the article. See *post*, 5: 116–118, 313. *S. J. B.*

very nice attention to the amenities of social life secured recognition for him but seem to have brought him few recruits. For the officers of "The Army of the Liberator" he went to Montreal and enlisted a number of young half-breeds, sons, in most instances, of well-known factors in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Apparently about the time he crossed the international boundary he also changed the name of his organization to "The Indian Liberating Army" and his purpose to that of establishing an Indian kingdom in California. To different persons he gave somewhat varying accounts of his purpose, but to practically all he intimated that his design was to go by way of the Great Lakes to the Red River colony of the Hudson's Bay Company, to secure there an army of half-breeds, and to ascend the Missouri to a certain point in the Rocky Mountains from which he could make an attack on Santa Fé. With the booty there to be obtained, he proposed to set up an Indian kingdom in California, for which, of course, he should be ruler and his officers statesmen. America has been the land of roseate dreams; but, among all its visions of wealth and power, where is the equal for novelty and adventure of this mad product of Dickson's disordered mind?

On October 1, 1836, Dickson and his "army" set sail from Buffalo. McLeod's diary begins a few days prior to that event and carries on the narrative through shipwreck, arrest, starvation, and freezing, till the tattered remnant of the band straggled into the hospitable shelter of the little colony on the banks of the Red River of the North where the city of Winnipeg now stands. The early portion of the book has been lost — from the beginning until October 9 — but McLeod at one time started to make a copy, and progressed as far as December 15. Since that portion of the copy which may be compared with the original shows great accuracy, it may be assumed that the missing portion was faithfully copied. Both the original and the copy are now in the custody of the Minnesota

Historical Society, where they have been placed by McLeod's daughter, Miss Isabelle McLeod of Minneapolis.

The author of the diary is no less interesting than the events he recounts. From a youth in the quaint city of Montreal, with its almost Old World culture and physiognomy, we watch him make his way to the heart of the continent; across the vast prairies to the outposts of civilization where St. Paul is about to rise; spend the best years of his life as a fur-trader in canoe and log cabin in the solitudes of the Minnesota Valley; marry a woman of the Sioux tribe and develop into the solicitous *pater familias;* play the statesman's rôle in assisting to guide the destiny first of the new territory and then of the new state of Minnesota, being especially influential in founding a liberal educational system and fostering an active immigration policy; and finally, at forty-seven, leave behind him the memory of a forceful personality and a short life full of adventure and romance. [2]

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

[2] Martin McLeod was born in L'Original, near Montreal, August 30, 1813. He was the son of John McLeod and one of a large family of children. In contemporary allusions to the personnel of Dickson's party McLeod's name is never included in the list of half-breed officers. Consequently one may be justified in inferring that he had no Indian blood. Testimony to the mark he made for himself in the developing Northwest is seen in the naming of McLeod County, Minnesota, for him. He was a member of the first three councils of the Minnesota territorial legislature and president of the fourth. His influence was exerted to induce immigration from his native land and for that purpose he wrote many letters to Canadian newspapers describing Minnesota. His untimely death in November, 1860, removed a man of abundant executive ability from the youthful state with the early history of which he had been so intimately connected. Portions of his diary, including the account of the journey from the Red River settlement to Fort Snelling in 1837, are published in John H. Stevens, *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People,* 345–357 (Minneapolis, 1890).

MARTIN MCLEOD'S DIARY, 1836 to 1851

Oh' early dreams of fame or fortune in the bright path of life
Ye are forever fled, and nought of all your visions fair
Are left, but sad hopes, and clustering sorrows, rife
With many cares — The hopeless heritage of which I'm heir.
McL. Jany 1848.[3]

July 1836.

My native land, good night! — Byron

A thought has struck me: — As I am about to enter on an "adventurous career" *I will keep a journal.* To sail on the *great lakes* and travel on the *boundless plains* of the *far west* has long been my most ardent desire — now my wishes are soon to be gratified. I may never return — to me it matters little — but should I, — perhaps at a calmer and more happy period of life it may afford me some gratification to look over this record of a *Quixotic career* 'n importe the "die is cast" and come what may, "here is a heart for every fate"

This day July 17th 1836. at 10. a.m (after saying farewell to the few friends whom I really love) left the city of Montreal accompanied as far as Lachine by John W——n and William N[ewhous]e[4] both young friends to whom I wish all manner of happiness. Many a pleasant moment we have had together — all this is now over, and alas, ties still dearer are forever at an end.

Walked across Isle Perrault[5] in company with a jolly and good natured canadian, a Captn of miltia and consequently a

[3] The initials and the date suggest that McLeod made the copy of his diary in 1848 and at that time prefaced it by means of this verse with his mature reflections on the early venture narrated in the diary.

[4] Several letters from William Newhouse among the McLeod Papers indicate that he was one of McLeod's closest friends in Montreal. Unless otherwise stated all manuscript materials referred to in the footnotes to the document herewith printed are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. In a few cases references are made to manuscripts acquired by the society later than the date of the present number of the BULLETIN. Initials and abbreviations are often used in the diary for names of persons and of places. Unless the author's meaning is obvious from the context, the names have been filled in by the editor in brackets. In a few cases it has not been possible to ascertain the meaning of the diarist's symbols.

[5] This is undoubtedly Isle Perrot of the present time.

person of some consequence, and his daughter a pretty brunette. Found the *Capatain* an excellent fellow. On arrival at his house, introduced to his bonne femme and an excellent bumper of maderia. Soon afterwards my conveyance came up when I set out for Coteau du Lac where I arrived at 12 o.clock at night very much fatigued.

Monday 18th Miserable inn at Coteau du Lac thought of the "inns and outs of life" Rambled about the village until 2. p.m, when I hired a horse and set out for Lancaster there to await the arrival of the Steamer Neptune with my luggage &c. Rode to Lancaster in two hours, distance 21 miles. Saw but few houses on the way. Country flat & uninteresting, so I rode hard, which I almost always do particularily when alone.

Tuesday 19th Late last night came on board the "Neptune" Surprised, (this morning) to find my friends John M'L[oughli]n and Chs McB[ea]n on board. [6]

At 6. o.clock this morning took stage from Cornwall to Dickenson's [7] landing. Had no time to call upon some friends in Cornwall. Steamer Dolphin from D's landing to Prescott. Met three acquaintances Wallis of Hamilton and Melville & Lilly of Montreal.

Wednesday 20th From Prescott took Steamer "Great Britain" to Queenston. The Captain an American, a most polite and excellent man. Had a delightful trip through lake Ontario. A number of friends on board. Accomodations capital. Weather pleasant. In fact every thing agreeable. Stopp'd at a number of ports on Lake Ontario. Kingston a very pleasant place, indeed, met two or three friends there, kindly received.

Touched at Oswego a rapidly increasing village the Americans call it a town already: in a year or at most two, it will be a *city 'par excellence'* Such are the Americans and such the results of their speculative propensities — but there must be a stop to all

[6] John McLoughlin was the half-breed son of Dr. John McLoughlin, the well-known Hudson's Bay Company chief factor at Fort Vancouver in Oregon. Charles McBean was the son of another chief factor, John McBean. See *post,* n. 30.

[7] The correct spelling of the name of this place is now Dickinson's Landing.

this, false capital will not always do, — then their "go a head" principle may retrograde.

However Oswego is well situated and with all an agreeable place. I learn that Martin Van Buren President of the United States owns much property there.

Remained one day at Toronto, do not like the place. Saw Alx^r Robertson of Inverness (an acquaintance at Montreal). People kind enough apparently, but I think some what pompous. Why? God only knows. What have they to bost of. Their town or city (as I believe it is call'd) is a muddy hole — but then it is the *Capital* of U[pper] C[anada] and they are up to their ears in politics (damn politics) and they have Sir. F[rancis] B[ond] H[ead] (whom by the by I saw á cheval) who is very popular &c &c and all that,[8] and so you see they are a people of some consequence, and not to be sneezed at, — that is if the d——d stench of their town would allow a person to take his finger from his nasal organ long enough for that pleasant exercise. Jokeing aside I think Toronto is not destined to be the Capital of U. C. many years. Kingston would do better — but

[8] In 1791 the British Parliament passed the Constitutional Act, which separated Canada into two parts, with the Ottawa River as the dividing line. In general, Upper Canada corresponded to what is now Ontario, and lower Canada to the Province of Quebec. Each division had its own government. Upper Canada, especially Toronto, was full of discontent at this time. Jobbing of land by an official clique, social exclusiveness on the part of the governors, and a general yearning for greater self-government among the people led in 1837 to a rebellion under William Lyon Mackenzie. Lord Durham, sent from England in 1838 to investigate conditions, made his famous report in 1839 which resulted in the union of the two Canadas in 1841. Sir Francis Bond Head was lieutenant governor of Upper Canada from 1835 to 1837. He was a vigorous man, of considerable fame as an explorer in South America and as an author. Incidental to McLeod's remark that he saw Head on horseback, it may be said that the baronet rode straight to hounds up to the age of seventy-five. See Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 25:324 (New York and London, 1891). For a picture of Toronto in the troublous times when McLeod made his visit, as well as for a narrative of Head's misrule and removal, see W. Stewart Wallace, *The Family Compact: A Chronicle of the Rebellion in Upper Canada*, 100–113 (*Chronicles of Canada*, vol. 24—Toronto, 1915).

perhaps the Provinces may be united, and then my own favourite Montreal (altho' I have had, heaven knows, little cause to like it) may be the *spot.* All this, and many other changes will take place before I return, if it is my lot, ever to do so.

Friday 22d Arrived at 9 a.m. at Queenston (Lewiston on the American Side) Had but a short time to run up the "heights" to look at Gen[l] Brocks monument, which is a poor affair, and will not last half as long as the memory of the hero who fell there. Thought of his gallant A.D.C. John M'Donell who fell there also; with whose brothers I am acquainted. [9]

Took stage to Niagara, where I arrived in time to have a great deal of difficulty to get dinner. Left three different seats to accomodate ladies. Americans, I judge from their manner of *ousting* a poor hungry devil from his seat without the least acknowledgment (even by a smile) of his politeness. More than 300 persons at the Hotel. (Pavillion I think it is call'd.) M[r] Dickson host, and very polite. A native of Ireland. Knew him in Montreal. After my *affair* with the *fair* but unfair ladies M[r] D. got places for myself and friends and very kindly sent us in some bottles of his choice wines by way of recompense for our first *embarresment.*

The Falls. Had but a short time to look at the falls *How grand?!* They have been described a thousand — times, yet there is no language capable of conveying a correct idea of them, and of our feelings on first approaching this sublime wonder of nature. Mine were to leap into the horrid gulf from off the verge of the awful precipice on which I stood. After a few moments this strange (but not unusual) feeling gave place to others more

[9] Sir Isaac Brock, major general in the British army during the War of 1812, was killed in battle at Queenstown, October 13, 1812. In 1824 a monument was erected on Queenstown Heights, not far from the spot where he fell. A picture and an account of this monument are given by Benson J. Lossing, in *The Pictorial Field-book of the War of 1812,* 406 n. 1 (New York, 1869). The remains of General Brock and of his aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Colonel John M'Donell, were deposited in a vault in the base. This monument, and not the present structure, was the one which McLeod saw in 1837. In 1840 the original monument was so injured by gunpowder, set off by a rebel of 1837, that a new and much more pretentious monument was erected in 1853.

THE LIBERATOR OF THE INDIAN NATIONS.

To all who shall see these presents greeting:

Know Ye, That reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, valor, fidelity, and abilities of Martin McLeod I have nominated, and do appoint him, Major in the Southern Regiment of Militia in the service of the LIBERATOR: to rank as such from the First day of August eighteen hundred and forty six. He is therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Major by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And I do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under his command, to be obedient to his orders as Major. And he is to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time, as he shall receive from me, the LIBERATOR, or the General or other superior Officers set over him, according to the rules and discipline of War. This Commission to continue in force during the pleasure of me the Liberator.

GIVEN under my hand at Detroit M. T. this Thirtieth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty six.

BY THE LIBERATOR James Dickson

John George Mackenzie Secretary of War.

COMMISSION OF MARTIN MCLEOD AS MAJOR IN THE ARMY OF THE LIBERATOR

[The original of this document is preserved among the McLeod Papers. A fact not to be forgotten while reading McLeod's diary is that Dickson's party was an organized army, at least in the eyes of its leader. A little book, *Articles of War and of the Government of the Army of the Liberator,* and a list of signatures of the officers and privates to these articles, both in the McLeod Papers, show how seriously Dickson viewed the whole enterprise. In the latter paper the following officers are found: major of artillery, five captains of artillery, a captain in the Liberator's regiment of "Life Guards," two first lieutenants of artillery, a third lieutenant in the "Life Guards," two ensigns of artillery, a commissary, and an assistant commissary. Dickson himself was a general, while Mackenzie held the somewhat anomalous position of secretary of war.]

natural, and I became calm and fearless enough to examine all the places visited by travellers and lion hunters.

With my friends McL[oughlin] & McB[ean] hired an extra stage and set out at 3 p.m. to Waterloo a village opposite Black Rock 3 miles below Buffalo. Arrived at Waterloo at 6. p.m. Met Green[10] at the house of Mr Smith; with him and my fellow travellers walked up to the ruins of fort Erie. Introduced for the first time to Gl D[ickso]n[11] who, privately, informed me of his plans &c relative to the intended expedition to the north *via* the great lakes and onwards God only knows where; *and where and when it may end.*

D——n appears quite sanguine of success. As yet I know little of the man, but if I may judge from so short an acquaintance, he is some what visionary in his views — n'importe I wish to go north & westward and will embrace the opportunity, but must "look before I leap".

August 1836 Monday. 1st Buffalo — N. Y. Since the 22d ultº I have been residing for the most part on the British side at the house of Mr Smith of Waterloo in whose family I have been very kindly treated indeed. Visited this place frequently in company with D[ickson] McK[enzie] McL[oughlin] McB[ean] and Hy H[art]n[e]ll un drole de corps that we picked up at Toronto.[12] H[artnell] is a Doctr. and says he will join us for which purpose he has already prepared a sort of "horse marine"

[10] In a manuscript headed "Signatures to the Articles of War Aug. 20th 1836," in the McLeod Papers, the signature of "William Greene Capt of Artillery. L.A." appears. The last letters stand for "Liberating Army."

[11] It is curious that McLeod had not met General Dickson, the leader of the expedition, in Montreal.

[12] John George Mackenzie was the half-breed son of "Emperor" Mackenzie. For details of his relations with the Hudson's Bay Company, see *post,* n. 28 and the references given therein. Hartnell, "an Englishman of good education and address who had been lecturing on & teaching Gymnasticks in the United States and in Canada made a conspicuous figure as the General's Aid de Camp, and afterwards designated himself 'Captain Hargraves of the Lancers.'" See George Simpson to J. H. Pelly, October 31, 1836, in the Canadian Archives, series G, Governor General's Papers, 78, no. 124. Photostatic copies of all material cited from the Canadian Archives are possessed by the Minnesota Historical Society.

uniform in addition to a famous *pair* of moustaches and hessian boots that he brought with him ready made (that is the boots and moustache) when he arrived at Montreal where I first saw him.

H—— however is a good natured sort of fellow, not wanting in courage I think altho' a little vain of his person which is certainly too good looking to be made "food for powder".

Mean time he feels like "Falstaff"

> If your father will do me any honor, so;
> If not let him kill the next Percy himself,
> I look to be either Earl or Duke I assure you.

At 5 p.m this evening left Buffalo on board the Schooner Wave chartered to bring our party to the Sault S[t] Marie from whence we shall proceed through lake Superior either in Birch Canoes or Boats.

Tuesday 2[d] Having passed p[t] Eppincan in the night had to return there this morning at dawn to take in tow a large boat belonging to D[ickson] besides take in a number of men and D. himself who has been residing at the point for some days past awaiting our arrival from Buffalo where the Schooner was detained while I was making the necessary arrangements for the voyage of our party through the lakes. D's movements at Buffalo being looked upon with suspicion by the Americans I had to take his place where I succeeded but indifferently well. Having got our men on board and taken the boat in tow — endeavoured to weather the point, but failing — obliged to anchor in the bay where we remained all night

Wednesday 3[d] Early this morning — boat sent in charge of M[c]L[oughli]n to row round the point while we endeavoured to beat out with the Schooner. This was not effected until 3 p.m. Mean time the wind increased to a gale which blew our boat ashore — a wreck.

M[c]L——n and his men saved themselves at the expense of a good wetting, but some of our luggage (which was carelessly left in the boat) was lost.

The boat belonging to the Wave swamped twice in getting our *boat* party off to the Schooner. No lives lost fortunatly. 11 oclock at night a tremenduous gale — obliged to put back to Ep-

pincan bay for shelter, in doing so our gallant little Schooner struck twice on a reef. The second time with tremenduous force. For a moment I thought all was lost, and turn'd round to speak to some of my companions in danger when D[ickso]n very cooly said to me, now my dear fellow watch the countenances around us and you will realize those beautiful lines in Byron's Don Juan

Then shrieked the timid, and stood still the brave

Our deck was illuminated with the lightening that preceeded at every moment the tremenduous peels of thunder that burst around us and at intervals completely *drown'd* the fearful roaring of the waves. Altogether it was a sublime altho' awful scene. Before day light — got into the shelter of the Bay. Remained on deck all night.

Thursday 4th Sailed early this morning and arrived at Gravelly bay at 2 p.m. Went on shore. Here the Welland Canal joins lake Erie. There are a few houses and some huts occupied by Irish. Left G. B. at 10 this evening. Wind favourable. proceeded across the lake in a S.W. course. had a pleasant run of 60 miles during the night. Passed long point on the Canada shore at day break.

Friday 5th Wind N. steady, but light. Sailing very slowly. Nothing occurr'd to day worth noteing.

Remain'd on deck all night talking to D——n.

Saturday 6th Wind unfavourable — all very dull in consequence Pass'd the day reading "Tacitus."

Sunday 7th Wind same as yesterday. The appearance of the Country on the banks of the lake is not favourable for agriculture. Very low & swampy for the most part, so far as I can judge.

Monday 8th Light but fair wind to day, just a week since we left Buffalo. Saw two brigs and a number of Schooners, like ourselves, creeping along very slowly.

Tuesday. 9th Hurrah! Wind in our favour and blowing a gale. Obliged to run under a close reefed fore sail. Waves mountains high. Our little "Wave" behaves gallantly. Saw two steam boats running into bays for shelter. All our party sick (poor devils) but four. Feel very well myself.

Early in the day, pass'd near where the battle of lake Erie was fought. This evening pass'd the islands below Detroit river. To night we shall get out of the lake.

Wednesday 10th At 10 a.m. came to anchor opposite a Canadian farm house 3 miles below Malden, and 20 miles from Detroit. In the evening our Schooner being becalmed — Rambled on shore for a while and then with D[ickso]n McB[ean] and McL[oughli]n took passage in a Steam boat to the town of Detroit where we arrived a short time after dark.

Thursday. 11th Rambled through Detroit. Think it a pleasant place enough. Increasing rapidly, like all the American towns. People inquisitive and rude. Much speculation as to who we are.

In the evening cross'd over to Sandwich, a small village on the British side. Saw a person whom I knew (slightly) in Montreal. Did not introduce myself.

Friday 12th No appearance of our schooner. Remained all day in Sandwich. In the evening went with D[ickson] to an Auberge 4 miles above Sandwich where we remain'd for the night.

Saturday 13. Schooner came up this morning, but wind unfavourable to proceed. Feel unwell for the first time since I left Montreal.

Staid at the Auberge all day. Host a Canadian and a good natured fellow. Introduced me to Margaret B—— a pretty *Can[a]dienne.*

Sunday 14. Still unable to proceed with our Schooner up the river. Went with Green to an island in the river 3 miles long — on the American shore 2 miles above Detroit. Delightful island, only one house on it, inhabited by a Dutch family who very politely treated us to Porter bread & cheese after our long walk. Saw a number of woodcock.

In the evening return'd in a Canoe to Schooner and went ashore with D[ickson] and others. Saw M. B——

Monday 15. By appointment went with M. B. across to Detroit. In the steam ferry boat, met four American ladies (ladies in dress, if not —) who *stared* very inquisitivly at myself and companion

Dined in Detroit. Saw some of its curiosities and went to the menagerie saw a variety of large snakes, birds, Monkeys and other beasts besides some beastly spectators "half *seas over, chewing* tobacco as if for a wager"

Cross'd to the British side, took a Gig and return'd to Schooner after dark. Found all my companions in a *wonderment* at my long stay — adventures &c. &c.

Tuesday 16. Still wind bound. After breakfast went ashore to look at the orchards and gardens of the habitants. Met M. B. by accident.

Wednesday 17. At 11 a.m. got under way with a light breeze, and before dark entered lake Saint Clair

This lake is 30 miles long, and named after the American General S[t] Clair famous for his fight with the Indians by whom he was (if I recollect right) defeated more than once — but certainly in one desperate battle where he lost a great number of his men.[13] The banks of the lake (so far as I saw) are very low, and the country quite uninteresting. Sailed through the lake during the night with a gentle breeze.

Thursday 18[th] Wind light and not very favourable managed to get up the Saint Clair river a few miles — banks low — Country not interesting — Saw no well cultivated farms — passed a few log cabins A brig and two or three Schooners in our Company bound to lake Michigan.

Friday 19. Wind S.S.W. under way with a pleasant breeze. Aspect of the country much more pleasing as we proceed upwards. River very winding, which retards us very much, as we have to tack so frequently however we managed to outsail all the other schooners, but were pass'd this evening by the Brig an advantage over us that she owes to her top sails which look beautiful towering high above the trees that border both banks of the river.

Saturday 20. Sailing all day with a light breeze. At twelve o'clock at night overtaken by the S[team] B[oat]

[13] The lake was not named for General St. Clair, who was disastrously defeated in a campaign against the Indians in northern Ohio in the fall of 1791. A reference to this lake as early as 1686 occurs in an "Account of Detroit Post," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16: 127.

"Gratiot" ran down upon us, and hailing our Captain *ordered* him to lower sail and repair on board the steamer which he refused to do, meantime the Schooner was kept under way, the S. B. following or rather running paralell to us. After some altercation and loud talking by both parties our main sail was by request of D[ickson] and myself let down, when the S. B. immediately ran close along side and lashed to the Schooner. The Sheriff of Detroit and his posse then stepp'd on board and after blustering with the Captain of the Schooner about the irregularity of papers &c. requested to get the names of all on board. I ask'd what our names had to do with his official business on board — nothing in particular, but he would like to have them. no doubt, to blazon in your d——d scurilous newspapers I replied.

He was an ignorant brute and I longed to kick him. The S. B. being bound to Black river near lake Huron continued upwards with us in tow. Arrived at black river a short time before day.

Sunday 21. It turns out this morning that the Sheriff has a charge against us for some animals said to have been killed near the entrance to Saint Clair river by a party from the Schooner. The sailors deny the charge and so do our men, but it will not do, there is a strong guard on board, and I can easily see the object of the d——d rascals is to make us pay their demand (an imposition) of 150$. By G—d if the wind was favourable I would with twenty of our best men volunteer to cut out our Schooner and run over to the British side where they would afterwards meet with as hot a reception as some of them are destined to find in h—ll (if there is a hell — *as some doubt*)

As matters look rather serious D[ickso]n has thought it best to give the Sheriff and his loafers his d[ra]ft for $150. This arrangement was brought about by the interference of General M^cNiel of Boston who is here on business; with whom D——n is acquainted.[14] We are all much indebted to Gen^l MacNiel for his courtesy and kind assistance in this unpleasant affair.

Three of the party and myself called in the evening upon the officers of "Fort Gratiot" two miles above Black river and near the entrance to lake Huron. These gentlemen received us very

[14] For a brief sketch of the career of Brigadier General John McNeil, Jr., see Nute, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10: 176 n. 7.

politely; apologizing for the villainous behaviour of the people of B.R. & expressing their regret that their duty as military men prevented them from giving us their assistance and advice when they heard of our difficulties — from the well known jealousy of the citizens towards the army and its officers. The garrison is commanded at present by Major Hoffman.[15] The other gentlemen whom we had the pleasure of meeting were Capt^n^ S^t^ John, Lieu^t^ Bumford (son of Co^l^ Bumford of the Engineers) and Doct. Clarke. I mention their names because I wish to remember them and because it is a real pleasure to meet with not only civility but kindness from strangers, particularily after being treated as we were by the Sheriff and his unwashed followers, and Yahoos of *Black river,* but never mind we may yet "meet at Phillippi."

Monday 22 At noon left B.R. and cross'd over to the British side to await a wind. Black river is a d——d hole of twenty houses half of them grog dens, but according to its inhabitants it is destined soon to be a city of importance. It may before I revisit it Took a book and went a shore to look at the country — which is pleasing. Met a lady — (a very genteel and well dress'd one, for *an out of the way* country corner) who asked me if I had found a book at the same time looking very closely at the one I carried. I answered by handing her the book, when she blushed very prettily indeed, and said Oh! no Sir, this, this, is not the one, but I lost mine a short time since somewhere within a mile or two from this. Madam may I have the pleasure of accompaning you in search of your lost *treasure. granted.* Altogether it was a pleasing incident, and made some amends for my rude treatment on t'other side by the *black* rascals.

Voila mon episode — and days adventures.

Tuesday 23^d^ Last night we towed our schooner into lake Huron — which employed us nearly the whole night as the

[15] For a description of Fort Gratiot in 1834, as well as a reference to Major William Hoffman of the Second United States Infantry, see Jackson Kemper, "Journal of an Episcopalian Missionary's Tour to Green Bay, 1834," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 14:403 (Madison, 1898). Another description of the fort may be found in a "History of Fort Gratiot" reprinted from the *Detroit Free Press* of August 24, 1890, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 18:667–676 (Lansing, 1892).

current at the entrance from Saint Clair river is very swift and strong. Surf on the lake very high and our boat in getting off from the shore the first time filled — no lives lost, altho' one poor fellow narrowly escaped. Second trip of the boat (in which I was) more fortunate.

At day light the breeze died away. Made only 20 miles through the lake to day. Delighted with the appearance of the lake the water of which is so clear that we can see the fishes distinctly at a great depth. — perhaps 40 to 60 feet.

Wednesday. 24. Wind favourable. Course N.N.W. Sailed 70 miles. Passed the day reading Zenophon's Cyropoedia Saw three sail in the distance to the westward, perhaps tomorrow we may pass them as our "Wave" Sails very fast.

> Behold the threaden sails,
> Born with the invisable and creeping winds,
> Draw the huge bottoms through the furrow'd sea
> Breasting the lofty surge Shakspeare

Thursday 25. Made a good run last night. It being beautifully clear (as the moon shines till near day) remained on deck till near 1 o.c. this morning at 10 a.m lost our breeze — nearly becalmed. Attempted to read but was prevented by an altercation between two of our party, M^cB[ean] talking and acting very foolishly — besides giving us an unpleasant specimen of puerile fretfulness — common with characters of his *calibre*. If any obstacle or unforseen event interrupts the current of their desires they immediately vent their spleen in a thousand childish and vain exclamations. This I take to be one of the greatest foibles of too many young men who are obliged to endure privations to which they are not accustomed &c &c. But what can be easier or more natural (if the mind be previously prepared) than to endure with cheerfulness the different changes which the body may be subject to, and the fatigues and privations we all feel we must necessarily undergo.

Friday 26. Wind N.W. cold, hazy, and unpleasant. Slept on deck last night — got wet from the waves dashing over the Schooner. No prospect of getting out of the lake to day. Yet 80 miles from Sault S^t Marié.

Tuesday 30. We have now been four days among the islands and tacking and retacking in lake George & Mud lake endeavouring to find the ship channel to the Sault (having no pilot) Being so much longer getting onward than we expected — had to *exist* three days on boiled green apples that (by chance) we got from an apple pedlar's schooner that we over hauled anchor'd in mud lake, waiting for a wind. Some of our men (poor devils) sick and sullen. Rather a sour commencement these apples —would prefer them in the shape of cider, and so says D[ickso]n. M^{c}B[ean] the ill natured looks like a crab. "an' he crosses my path,["] he may find himself in the *situation* of Bob Acres, to whom, I think, he must be nearly related. Saw Drummond's Island with the remains of an old fortification on it — besides a number of other island[s] part of the very numerous group called the Manatoulin isles said to be more than 30 thousand in number.[16] Some of them are very beutiful, covered with fine trees and verdure to the waters edge, others are mere islets or barren rocks large enough for a bird to perch upon.

Near one of the isles we found a huron indian with his squaw. The poor fellow was surprised (as we were out of the ship channel) but not frightened; and gave us some excellent Salmon trout in exchange for a couple of handkerchiefs

Wednesday 31. *Sault Saint Marié* Arrived at this place at 10 a.m and anchored on the British side, opposite the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in charge of a M^{r} Nourse who was civil and polite to us.[17] Took a boat and cross'd over to the American side where there is a village of about twenty houses and a garrison of two Companies commanded by Major Cobb *U.S.A.*[18] The people of this place surprised to see us look so quiet and harmless, as the story of our affair at Black river has

[16] Manitoulin Island, the chief island in the group, lies a little east of Drummond Island. A description of the fortifications on Drummond Island in the third decade of the century is given in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 23: 411–413 (Lansing, 1895).

[17] A copy of William Nourse's letter of September 15, 1836, to John Siveright, describing Dickson and his party, is in the Canadian Archives, series G, Governor General's Papers, 78, no. 124.

[18] The place referred to is Fort Brady. For a description of this fort in 1830 see "M'Call's Journal of a Visit to Wisconsin in 1830," in *Wisconsin*

preceded us in the American Newspapers under the ominous head of "Pirates on the Lakes" with the rascally Editor's additions and embellishments.[19] D[ickson]'s name is the only one mentioned. Thank fortune, fate or whatever it may be, I resisted the impudent Sheriff and did not give my name "to be adorn'd by a newspaper tale", because it would give great anxiety, and cause much pain to my friends, else I would not care a farthing about the whole affair — foolish as it was. But Editors and particularly ignorant American Editors "make mountains out of molehills" "Pirates on the lakes" who ever read so egregious a *caption* to a ridiculous paragraph describing our personal appearance ornamented with huge mustaches &c &c Why did not the d——d fools say a la "Corsair" and the picture would be complete. I shall live (magre all this) to laugh over it "many a time and oft"

By the ghosts of Kidd, Lafitte, Dampier and the Devil who ever drem't that my mother's son was to be a *Pirate* (ha, ha, I must drown the thought in a bumper of old Johnson's aqua vitae.

Thursday 1st September. Went to the Garrison — had a good laugh with the officers about our piratical affair. Some persons actually believed the whole story of the newspapers.

Another paragraph says "A low black looking Schooner with raking masts. Sails fast, and looks suspicious" This is nearer the truth — but who would ever think of a pirate on the lakes. What is to be got paper money at 100 p ct dis[coun]t; and if there was aught else where is the way to escape. Why the person who talk[s] about it should be set down as a fool, and those who would beli[e]ve, accomodated with rooms in Bedlam if there is such a particular place in this outlandish land where to me, at present, all appears "one wide bedlam"

Historical Collections, 12: 183 (Madison, 1892). Brevet Major Waddy V. Cobbs was an officer of the Second United States Infantry. *Official Army Register*, 1838, p. 21, 33.

[19] In the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* for August 23, 1836, is an account of the arrest of Dickson's party. The heading reads, "Pirates on the Lakes." This is obviously the paper to which McLeod refers, for his quotations here and under date of September 1 are similar to the phrases of this newspaper article. A file of the *Advertiser* is in the possession of the Detroit Public Library.

3d I begin to feel dull, and wish we were "once more upon the waters" altho' it is neither save [*sic*] nor pleasant (so they say) to navigate lake Superior at this Season. Wrote to a number of my friends for the last time before I enter on the wild regions of the North & West. Many a time will I think of absent friends and ruined hopes by our lonely camp fires.

> The intrepid Swiss, who guards a foreign shore,
> Condemned to climb his mountain clifs no more,
> If chance he hears the song so sweetly wild
> Which oft his infant hours beguiled,
> Melts at the long lost scenes, which round him rise
> And sinks a martyr to repentant sighs.
> Pleasures of Memory.

This same habit of quoting and writing scraps of "popery" as my *orange friend* B——n says is a vile one, (I know and feel it) but what else can I do. I promised dear E——[20] a *buke* of some kind and in the present dearth of adventures of my own I must e'en put in some of the good things of others, besides it is a sort of pleasure to recur to my memory for passages of favourite poets read in happier days.

Sault St Marie (as I have already sd) is a small village at the entrance to the grand lake Superior. There is here a Cantonment of two Companies of very awkward American *Soldados* commanded by a Major Cobb a singular veteran who prefers any thing to a clean shirt and any duty but a military one. His 18 feet picket fort is his world and I verily believe his ideas never extend beyond the old saw mill above the fort where he is continually with his men patching, and *fiddleing* &c. &c.[21]

[20] "E——" was Elizabeth Magrane, a sister of McLeod's friend, Thomas Magrane of Montreal. In the copy of a letter to William Newhouse, found in McLeod's outfit book as fur-trader for the period 1840–43, the following remarks occur: "I recd a letter from Montreal — from T. M—— a long rigmarole, and touching, not very delicately, upon my former penchant for his sister E." The words "his sister" are crossed out in the original. To an earlier letter from Magrane in the McLeod Papers is appended a note by Elizabeth thanking Martin for the account of his travels.

[21] A description of the old mill race and saw mill belonging to Fort Brady is given by Mrs. Anna Reid Knox, in "Michigan State Rights," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 30: 165 (Lansing, 1906).

There are here at present quite a number of Chippewas with their Wigwams on their return from the island of Mackinaw where they have been to receive their annuities for lands sold in this vicinity and along lake Superior as far westward as Chocolate river, an immense tract but of little value for Agricultural purposes, but there is said to be a vast deal of copper in the regions bordering on the lake, but there appears to be some doubt whether even that can ever be made available or no.[22] But at no very distant day there will be very extensive fisheries established at different points on the lake which if successful, (as we have every reason to believe they will be) they will prove a source of considerable wealth to this portion of Michigan.[23]

The best fish caught are the "white fish" which are delicious I think I prefer them to even Salmon. A large species of trout is also caught in abundance and a fish very large and exceedingly rich called by its Indian name Sis-Ka-wat which I think is also of the trout kind.[24] These are both excellent, and preferable to the "white fish" for salting, but not so delicate when fresh.

[22] The document signed by Hawgayosh and fifty-two other Indians at Michilimackinac, July 14, 1836, acceding to the amendments made by the United States Senate to the treaty of March 28, 1836, which ceded a large amount of Indian lands in Michigan, is published in 24 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 82, p. 9 (serial 303).

[23] McLeod's statement might lead the reader to believe that fisheries on a fairly extensive scale had not already been established in Lake Superior. As a matter of fact, Ramsay Crooks, on reorganizing the American Fur Company in 1834, had initiated a fisheries policy for that organization which was only second, if indeed not equal, in importance to the fur-trade policy of his business. In the very letter in which Charles W. Borup recounts the visit of Dickson's party to his post at La Pointe the following statement is found: "Our fishing promised fair after you left. They had at Fond du Lac 200 Barrels and in 15 days we got at our place 82 Barrels." See Borup to Crooks, October 22, 1836, in the American Fur Company Papers in the possession of the New York Historical Society. A photostatic copy of this letter is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. At the time that McLeod was penning these remarks in the Lake Superior region Crooks was making a survey of the fisheries and the fur trade.

[24] "This fish is known only from Lake Superior, where it is common. It was first described from there as *Salmo siscowet* Agassiz." Ulysses O. Cox, *A Preliminary Report on the Fishes of Minnesota,* 47 (Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, *Zoological Series,* no. 3 — St. Paul, 1897).

During our stay at the Sault S[t] Marie, treated with great kindness by M[r] Ermatinger and family. M[r] E. is an old indian trader and has given us some very useful information for our guidance in the Indian Country.[25] The officers of the Garrison (particularily Lieu[t] Burnet) treated us with much civility.[26] Old Major Cobb too was polite — shaved himself once during our stay and endeavoured to look amiable notwithstanding his stern military penchant for his 18 foot pickets and his paternal partiality for the old shackeling saw mill.

Indeed we have no reason to complain of any of the people of this hyperborean Corner, unless I except old Squire Johnson who keeps the only inn, charges most unrighteously, and is withall a d——d crab stick of an old fellow.

Here we had a ludicrous specimen of an American Election. Johnson our old crabstick and —— a Cooper Candidates. The cooper was a temperance man and turn'd out to his thirsty friends a barrel of beer. Johnson to ensure his return was more liberal and gave out a barrel of firey whiskey so it was *Whiskey versus Beer — Election, about 30* — but it would not do, the coopers friends were the most numerous and after first getting drunk on Johnson's whiskey the[y] carried the cooper nem. con.[27] on his *bier* which so enraged our host *Johnsing* that he foamed like an old boar — more, I think, at the loss of his ducats — no, his whiskey — than the election.

Sept, 12. Feel unwell to day, yesterday went across with my friend J. G. M[c]K[enzie] to the british side and got completely wet from running too near the Sault with our birch canoe and in the evening went to a small party at M[r] E[rmatinger]'s after my return at 11. Sat up the rest of the night with Dubay, and others, to the great annoyance of the grumbling host and his scarse less sour Xantippe of a wife. So between my shower bath

[25] Charles Oakes Ermatinger, son of a Swiss merchant of Canada, had settled on the Canadian side of the Sault de Ste. Marie sometime before 1814. Crooks and Robert Stuart to John Jacob Astor, January 24, 1818, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 20:25.

[26] I. R. D. Burnett was a second lieutenant in the Second United States Infantry. *Army Register*, 1838, p. 13.

[27] *Nemine contradicente*, that is, unanimously.

with McK—— hot bath (inwardly) and other agreeable follies I feel but indiferently well to day; thus it is

Our pleasant vices
Are made the whips to scourge us

but if I can get M. E[rmatinger] to take a walk with me as promised I shall be better on my return. A walk always (well or ill) does me a great benefit — ('tis your only virtuous medicine) but it should be a brisk one of five or six miles at least; none of your gentle snail creeping paces only fit for a dandy, a dame, or a Chelsea pensioner.

After this I shall abjure Sack (as Fallstaf's says) and lead a virtuous life.

Septr 14. To day saw off our friend J. G. McKenzie who returns to Montreal in consequence of ill health. We all regret the necessity of his return and I much fear he will not recover to join us next spring as proposed. A few months ago the poor fellow was in the bloom of health, now alas he is dying of a sudden attack — pulmonary I think.[28]

Doctor H[artnell] returns also — as I expected. He is one of those volatile characters who have not stamina to carry through any undertaking. Not long since he was all enthusiasm now he is quite discouraged at the accounts he has received of the dangers we *may* be exposed to, the fatigues we will have to undergo, the food we will have to eat — and *not to eat* &c. I suspect it is more through fears of having to fast occasionally than for any other cause he returns. So far he is true to the character (given) of many of his Countrymen — for he is an Englishman.

Our party has now dwindled down to a very small one, from numbering nearly sixty persons in all when we left Buffalo. Some have deserted, some left on the way sick, others return'd &c &c. With exception of two or three persons we have but little reason to regret these that have fallen off, particularily the Americans. They were d——d impertinent and useless fellows. Our sailors

[28] Mackenzie returned to Berthier, near Montreal, to spend the winter with his sister. A letter written by him in the latter part of April of the following year shows him still ill. For further accounts of Mackenzie, who was one of the leading spirits of Dickson's enterprise, see Nute, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10: 126, 134 n. 16, 136, 178, 179.

have to return with the Schooner as we cannot get her into lake Superior as we expected, from the information derived at Buffalo. We shall leave here tomorrow to cross the lake (that is to coast it, 540 miles on the south side) in a Mackinaw Boat our party will consist of

Gen[l] J. Dickson	Myself
A. R. M[c]L[eod]	M[c]B[ea]n
Green.	Hays.
Parys.	[Lindsey] [29]

M[c]Laughlin. and six men with our guide Gaulthier a halfbreed Chippewa his wife and Child and three Chippewas that accompany him to assist in navigating the boat *in all twenty persons.* [30]

September 15. To day at 2 p.m left the Sault Saint Marie on board the Mackinaw with a gentle breeze which carried us about ten miles up the lake before dark. We encamped opposite an island (in the lake half a mile from shore) in a very pleasant spot Just before dark while we were pitching our tents an

[29] This name has been crossed out in the original.

[30] McLeod accounts for Hayes and Parys in his diary, *post,* p. 412–416, and what is known of Dickson's later history is given *post,* n. 86. Something, however, needs to be said of the other members of the party. Alexander R. McLeod, Jr., son of a factor in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, accepted at the end of the journey a position offered by the company and remained in its employ in the Northwest till about 1840. In 1842 he appeared in Minnesota and became a well-known figure, especially noted for his magnificent physique and unusual strength. He died while serving with the Union Army in 1864, at the age of forty-seven. John McLoughlin also accepted a position in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and remained in the Far Northwest until his murder in 1842. For more detailed accounts of these men see Nute, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 10: 129 n. 4, 136. William Greene was left behind at La Pointe on account of illness. Borup in his letter of October 22, 1836 (see *ante,* n. 23), states that his boat carried Greene as far as the Sault. Charles McBean went as far as the Red River settlement with the party, but what happened to him later is not known. The half-breed who was guiding the party at this time was a member of the Gauthier family, some account of which is given by Reuben G. Thwaites, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 19: 179 n. 51 (Madison, 1910). Several Gauthiers are listed in a manuscript entitled "Pay Roll, 1843. Chippewa's of the Mississippi & Lake Superior. Cash Annuity 1843."

Indian woman and three very pretty indian girls came down from the hills behind bringing us some huckleberries for which we were grateful besides making them some presents in return, and sending Tobacco to their male friends.

16th This morning three Chippewas made us a visit bringing in return for the Tobc we sent them yesterday a number of very fine white fish and trout. After a parley and a smoke they left us promising to see us again if the winds should delay us on our voyage.

Sept. 17. Started with a fine breeze. our birch Canoe in tow of the Boat. About 11 a.m. D[ickson] McL[eo]d myself and one man got into the Canoe for the purpose of trying to outsail the Boat. We were three miles out in the lake at the time, and while we were fixing the Sail of the Canoe &c. the boat continued on and got far a-head of us. Soon afterwards the wind changed, — blowing off shore — and continued to increase. the Boat was now nearly out of sight; and we began to perceive our danger, and regretted having left it. Our Canoe for want of ballast got unmanageable and we were obliged to lower sail and paddle towards the shore which we reached after a long exertion — running our frail Craft through the rolling surf high on the Sandy beach — where we abandoned it — and walked in pursuit of the boat along the sands (which on this part of the lake extend for very many miles) for nearly two hours, when we came up to it lying snugly to in a little harbour. We were well laughed at for our " Canoe adventure ", and deserved it because the guide warned us of our danger besides assuring us that the boat could outsail the Canoe.

Sailed about forty miles to day and encamped at sun down on a gentle slope about ten yards from the beach. Weather mild. Feel unwell.

River Onatonagon 9 Oct 1836. Arrived here at 2 PM this day There is a Fur post here, and having letters to young Ermatinger, who has charge of this post we were obliged to put in to deliver them. [31]

[31] The Ontonagon River in Michigan empties into Lake Superior a little to the west of Keweenaw Point. Apparently the Ermatinger mentioned was

Mr E. with his family absent at La Point. Having forgotten our ink and papers at the Sault St Marie I have been unable to make any memo of our route through the lake this far but can say enough from memory.

First then, the distance from the Sault to La Point is 450 miles as we had to come, (That is by the coast) we are yet about 60 miles from La Point, consequently have been 24 days coming 390 miles

In this route we met with many dangers. At this season the great lake is continually in a state of agitation, and a Batteau with 21 persons and a quantity of Goods & provisions in it is a no difficult thing to swamp. A misfortune which we luckily escaped, a number of times. In making the traverse (of 21 miles) at long Point we fortunatly got a few hours of fair weather, but no sooner had we crossed than there sprang up a breeze which would have *immortalized* us all in a very few moments.[32] The Indians wait a number of days for good weather to pass this dangerous traverse, they then paddle their Canoes some distance from the shore and commence singing a hymn to the Great Spirit intreating him to give them fair weather untill they have crossed over, after which men women and children take their paddles and work silently but diligently until they have crossed. Indeed nothing can be more impressive than the simple but sincere manner in which these primative people worship the great Being. One instance of this I had the happiness to witness in our route thro' the lake. Upon a very calm night while at about 3 miles distant from what we all supposed an uninhabited shore we suddenly heard a number of voices singing. Upon enquiring of our boatman

the son of the trader at the Sault. In the pay roll cited in note 30, the name of James Ermatinger occurs in a list of the members of the La Pointe band.

[32] Edmund F. Ely gives a nearly contemporaneous account of crossing this dangerous stretch of water: "Friday Morning, at 2 o clk struck our tents, rounded the point proceeded down the shore two or three miles & commenced the traverse by the light of the Moon, with a good side wind out of the Bay. . . . after crossing proceeded, wind fair, to Point Ki-wi-na . . . we have been in places today where we must have perished if a sudden storm had risen." Entry for August 9, 1833, in manuscript diary on deposit with the St. Louis County Historical Society, Duluth. A copy of this diary is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

what these voices meant he immediately replied, with an air of great carelessness that it was nothing but some Savages praying and that it was their custom always to solicit the Great Spirit at the top of their voices more frequently however, they retire to some remote part of the wood, and having erected a long pole (with part of the bark peeled off so as to make it resemble a barber's pole) with a small piece of tobacco (as an offering) suspended to it, they there resort to pray. At other times they pray to the Miche Manitou (or evil spirit) entreating him to not harm them

They then say that there is no necessity to pray to the Kegie Manitou (or good spirit) as he never harms them. It is only when they wish to be successful in hunting or killing their enemies that they pray to the good spirit.

Gauthier our boatman who is a metiff [33] and an Indian trader (and who by the bye is a very civil fellow) informs us that no person unacquainted with this lake can form any idea of the dangers & difficulties attendant upon the navigation of it at this late season. It has frequently happened that the traders have been obliged to throw over board all their boat load of goods in order to save their lives. So far we have been lucky altho' we very narrowly escaped swamping two or three different times; but how the rest of our lake voyage may terminate 'tis difficult to say.

The appearance of the land along the whole coast of the lake is not at all favorable for agricultural pursuits. Indeed I am inclined to think that it will never be settled. There are, also, but very few good harbors for ships. I think we found but two, perhaps three, and these were not deep enough for vessels drawing more than ten feet water.

La Point 11 Oct[r] 1836. Arrived at this place about 11 o'clock this morning and encamped near the Indian huts about half a mile from the American Fur Co's post. Upon our arrival we received a salute of three guns from the Indians. This place, on the map, is called " Middle Isle " & is very pleasantly sit-

[33] Half-breeds were quite generally known as *métis* or *bois brulés*. The former word appears in several spellings, including *métif* for the masculine singular.

uated. The principle post of the Am[erican Fur] Co[mpany] is on this Island. They derive great profit from the traffic in Fish which are caught in great numbers by their own people & by the Indians both at "Fond du Lac" and (I believe) among the Islands called the "Twelve Apostles" We were very civilly treated by the Gentleman in charge of the post at our arrival.[34]

Tuesday 12th Oct[r] 1836. This evening wrote to Gen[l] M[c]K[enzie] and M[r] R——e and forwarded them to M[r] Schoolcraft of S[t] S[t] Marie with directions to forward them to Canada.[35]

Wednesday 13 Oct[r] Left La Point about 1 P.M. today having procured the Batteau from Gauthier to take us to "Fond du Lac" it being impossible to get Canoes at La Point. Made only 7 miles this evening and encamped at the mouth of "Sandy River"

Thursday 14 Oct[r] 1836 Wind bound all day. Passed this day reading or rather studying Spanish.[36] Our Expedition has

[34] La Pointe is on the island now called Madeline Island. A letter in the American Fur Company Papers (see *ante*, n. 23) from Crooks to William Aitken, December 12, 1835, announces the change of the location of the principal post from Mackinac to La Pointe. The reasons given are that the change makes unnecessary old experienced boatmen to carry outfits clear to Mackinac and return and that the fisheries will center at La Pointe. The Reverend Sherman Hall, missionary at La Pointe, gives the following description of that place as he found it in 1831: "This is the name of the trading establishment on Magdalen Island, near the Southern Shore of Lake Superior. It is the headquarters of one of the Departments of the *American Fur Company*. . . . The principle traders connected with the department at Magdalen Island, are Messrs. [Lyman] Warren, [William] Dingley, [Charles W.] Oakes, [Samuel] Ashmun, [John] Holiday & Butterfield. Warren's post is at the Island; the others are from 100 to 200 miles distant. At the Island are about 150 permanent residents, exclusive of children. . . . Gardens can be cultivated and many vegetables raised. There is some [live] stock at La Pointe." The manuscript which contains this statement is among the Hall Papers in the possession of Mr. Ernest W. Butterfield of Concord, New Hampshire, photostatic copies of which are owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

[35] Mackenzie was commissioned "brigadier general" in Dickson's "Army of the Liberator." Henry Rowe Schoolcraft was the United States superintendent of Indian affairs for Michigan, an explorer of the Northwest, and author of several books on the Indians and on his explorations.

[36] See *post*, p. 437 and n. 10.

caused much excitement here & our purpose has preceeded us many hundred miles. We have great hopes of success.

15th Oct[r] 1836. Left our encampment about 3 P.M to-day. Met M[r] Warren of the Am. Fur Co. near the *De Tour* he gave Gen[l] D. letters to the different persons in charge of the Fur posts in the interior, requesting them to aid us with guid[e]s, provisions &c to enable us to prosecute our journey to red River.[37] The old Gentleman expressed his doubts of our being able to get farther than Leech lake before the small rivers were frozen.

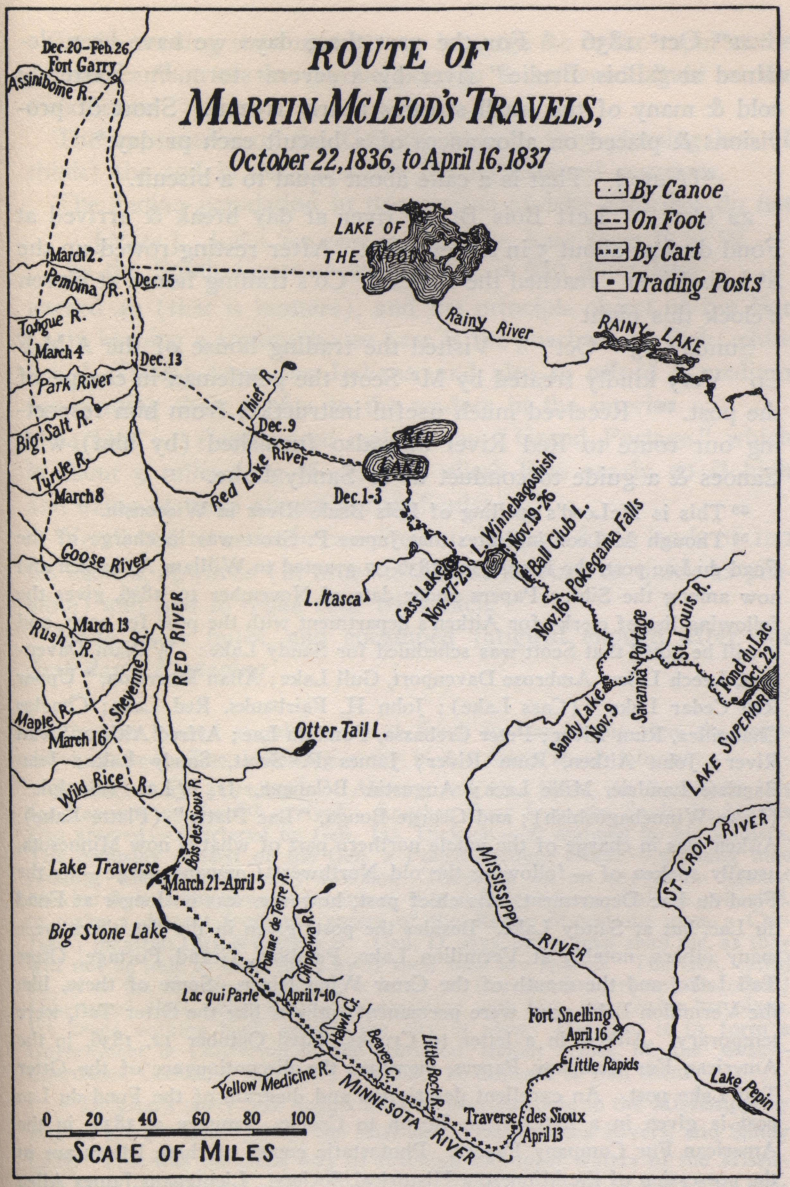
In the morning I went out to hunt and got lost in the thick wood. After rambling about bewildered, for more than five hours, came out to the lake about 3 miles distant from the encampment, and had to force my way thro a very thick underwood. Came to the camp quite fatigued.

16th Oct[r] 1836 Left our camp at day break. About 11 o'clock a severe snow storm commenced, and in a short time the wind off the lake increased so violently that it was with great difficulty we could keep the batteau from being driven upon the rocks which line the coast, in this part of the lake for many miles. The fur Co's boat which kept us company narrowly escaped swamping, being very heavily laden. After some difficulty both boats made the mouth of a small river, but which was too shallow to admit them, we then had all to jump into the water, up to our middles to unload the boats and pull them over the sand bar to prevent them from being filled with water.

Encamped, cold, and uncomfortable enough.

17th Oct[r] 1836 Cold, and unpleasant, wind still blowing violently from off the lake. No probability of leaving encampment today.

[37] Lyman Marcus Warren, in charge of the La Pointe station, was a well-known fur-trader in the Northwest. An account of this interesting character is given in the "Memoir of William W. Warren," his son, preceding the latter's "History of the Ojibways, Based upon Traditions and Oral Statements," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5:9–12. A letter from Mrs. Julia A. Spears, daughter of Lyman Warren, dated Detroit, Minnesota, June 26, 1923, and addressed to the Minnesota Historical Society, states that her father came from Brockport, New York. The memoir gives Hartford, Connecticut, as the place of his birth. Both accounts agree, however, that he came to the Lake Superior region in 1818.


ROUTE OF
MARTIN McLEOD'S TRAVELS,
October 22, 1836, to April 16, 1837
By Canoe
On Foot
By Cart
Trading Posts
Dec. 20–Feb. 26
Fort Garry
Assiniboine R.
March 2
Pembina R.
Dec. 15
Tongue R.
March 4
Dec. 13
Park River
Big Salt R.
Turtle R.
March 8
Goose River
Rush R.
March 13
Sheyenne R.
Maple R.
March 16
Wild Rice R.
RED RIVER
Otter Tail L.
Lake Traverse
March 21–April 5
Bois des Sioux R.
Big Stone Lake
Pomme de Terre R.
Chippewa R.
Lac qui Parle
April 7–10
Hawk Cr.
Beaver Cr.
Yellow Medicine R.
MINNESOTA RIVER
Little Rock R.
Traverse des Sioux
April 13
LAKE OF THE WOODS
Rainy River
RAINY LAKE
Thief R.
Dec. 9
Red Lake River
Red Lake
Dec. 1–3
L. Winnebagoshish
Nov. 19–26
Ball Club L.
Cass Lake
Nov. 27–29
L. Itasca
Nov. 16
Pokegama Falls
Savanna Portage
Sandy Lake
Nov. 9
St. Louis R.
Fond du Lac
Oct. 22
LAKE SUPERIOR
ST. CROIX RIVER
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
Fort Snelling
April 16
Little Rapids
Lake Pepin
0 20 40 60 80 100
SCALE OF MILES

21st Oct^{r} 1836 For the past three days we have been detained at "Bois Brulie" river by a severe storm.[38] Extremly cold & many of the small streams nearly frozen. Short of provisions & placed on allowances of a biscuit each pr day.*

*[*Note.*] That is a cake about equal to a biscuit.

22 Octr Left Bois Brulie river at day break & arrived at Fond du Lac about 5 in the evening. After resting rowed up the St Luis River reached the AM Fur Co's trading house at eleven o'clock this night

Sunday 23rd Oct^{r} Visited the trading house of the A.M.F Co Very kindly treated by M^{r} Scott the gentleman in charge of the post.[39] Received much useful instruction from him respecting our route to Red River and also furnished (by him) with Canoes & a guide to conduct us to Sandy Lake.

[38] This is McLeod's spelling of Bois Brule River in Wisconsin.

[39] Though McLeod indicates that James P. Scott was in charge of the Fond du Lac post, the license for 1836–37 granted to William A. Aitken and now among the Sibley Papers under date of November 19, 1836, gives the following list of clerks for Aitken's department with the post for each, and it will be noted that Scott was scheduled for Sandy Lake: William Davenport, Leech Lake; Ambrose Davenport, Gull Lake; Allan Morrison, "Upper Red Cedar Lake" (Cass Lake); John H. Fairbanks, Red Lake; Charles Chaboillez, Rum River; Peter Crebassa, Fond du Lac; Alfred Aitken, Swan River; John Aitken, Rum River; James P. Scott, Sandy Lake; Jean Baptiste Landrie, Mille Lacs; Augustin Bélanger, Jr., "Lac Winnipic" (Lake Winnebagoshish); and George Bonga, "Lac Platte" (Platte Lake). Aitken was in charge of the whole northern part of what is now Minnesota, usually spoken of — following the old Northwest Company usage — as the Fond du Lac Department. Its chief post, however, was no longer at Fond du Lac, but at Sandy Lake. Besides the posts given in the list, there were many others, notably at Vermilion Lake, Pembina, Grand Portage, Otter Tail Lake, and the mouth of the Crow Wing River. Some of these, like the Vermilion Lake post, were permanent; others, like the Otter Tail, were temporary. Aitken, in a letter to Crooks, dated October 12, 1836, in the American Fur Company Papers, mentions the discontinuance of the Otter Tail Lake post. An excellent description and diagram of the Fond du Lac post is given in a letter from Borup to Crooks, January 2, 1836, in the American Fur Company Papers. Photostatic copies of these letters are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Lieutenant James Allen gives a list of the posts in Aitken's charge in 1832 in *Expedition to Northwest Indians,* 31 (23 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 323 — serial 257).

In the evening went up with our baggage &c to the rapid at the commencement of the 9 mile portage & returned again to the Co's house.

The appearance of the Country here is very pleasing but (I think) the soil is not favorable for agricultural purposes.

The Indian population in this section of lake Superior do not exceed 40 (that is hunters), and the principle object of the Fur Co in keeping a trading house here is the purchase of Fish (white fish & Trout) from the Indians, and also to afford a medium for sending their outfits to the traders in the interior.

[*Note.*] Lake Superor is 490 miles long from E to W. by the South Coast as we came it is 640 miles long

24 Oct[r] Commenced making the "Grand Portage" which is about 9 miles long.[40] Had to climb hills nearly 50 f[t] high and many of them almost perpendicular

We all had to assist in carrying our luggage &c in loads of 100 lbs each & upwards (in order to hasten through as quick as possible) and had to make four trips each.

Made three miles, and encamped fatigued enough after our *first day's Portaging*

Ely was located as missionary at Fond du Lac at the time the expedition passed. The following entry in his diary is of interest:

Sabbath — 23[d] [October] About 1 o[c]lk this Noon, the Boat, whh left for Lepointe on the 8[th] arrived. Another Boat from the Sault. St Maries also arrived — chartered by Gen. Jas. Dickson — & manned by his soldiers. The company consist of the Gen. a Polish refugee officer — 5 young men ranking Lieutenants — & 7 soldiers. They are on an expedition against Mexico & it is the present intention, if a sufficient force shall be collected, to make a descent from the passes of the Rocky Mountains upon a Cer-[tain] mexican City & destroy it. Gen. D. says, every man *shall die,* as they will not be able to keep the City if their men are spared. The Gen. called on us in the Evening, bringing a letter of Introduction fr[om] Br[other] [Sherman] Hall. Had a long conversation with him, concerning his plans. He keeps nothing back, except the city in view. His plan is to form a Government in California of the scattered Indian tribes of the west — Cherokees, Creeks, & all others who may be disposed to join them.

[40] Dickson's party now begins the oft-traveled route to the Mississippi by way of the St. Louis River, the East and West Savanna Rivers, and Sandy Lake. This was the usual way of reaching the upper waters of the Mississippi from the Great Lakes. The Grand Portage, which is not to be confused with the better-known portage by that name between Lake Superior and the Pigeon River, was the longest carrying-place in the route.

25 Oct. 1836 Continued our portaging, but found a better road (if road it can be called) than yesterday, and felt much less fatigued.

26 Oct. Again to the d——ble portaging. Met an Indian while at breakfast who informed our guide that the upper part of the S^t^ Louis River was frozen which quite discouraged (I mean disappointed) us and discouraged our little metiff guide so much that he said it was useless for us to go on

27 Oct. Arrived at the end of the long Portage and set to work preparing our Canoes for an immediate start *Ice or no ice* we intend having a peep at it our motto at present being *"Push forward"*

Friday 28^th^ Oct 1836 Remained at encampment at the upper end of "Grand Portage", preparing Canoes &c Sent Charlo,[41] our guide to the Fort for more gum for our Canoes

Guide returned in the evening and informed us that it was impossible to proceed.

Half determined to remain till the ice be sufficiently strong to walk upon.

Saturday 29^th^ Oct^r^ 1836. Started with Canoes in the Rapids got to the end of "Portage de Coteaux" with much difficulty.[42] Late in the evening I walked with Charlo the guide to the Fort a distance of 15 miles through miserable roads.

Sunday 30^th^ Oct^r^ Returned from the Fort, alone about 2 P.M. having procured a new guide (the first having refused to obey his master, and come with us) and also a few other necessaries. Our party quite cheered with the prospect of getting on. This day finished getting thro' Portage de Coteaux a distance of 3 miles. New guide arrived in the evening.

[41] This is probably Charles Chaloup, a half-breed of the Lac du Flambeau band of Chippewa, a list of whom is given in the pay roll cited in note 30. Ely mentions him many times in his diaries for 1840, 1841, and 1842, notably under dates of February 11, 1840, and March 30, 1842. Usually he writes the name "Charlo," but at times it appears as "Charles," and under date of January 21, 1842, it seems to be "Charliou."

[42] The English equivalent for the name of this carrying-place is Knife Portage. See *post*, 5:33 n. 11.

31st Oct^r^ Started with our new guide (a smart Chippewa) and got through about half of the "Grand Rapids" but with great difficulty. [43]

1st Nov^r^ 1836 About 3 P.M. got over the Grand Rapids where the Indian left us.

No appearance of Ice in the S^t^ Louis All delighted with the prospect of soon getting, at least, as far as Sandy Lake before the ice comes upon us.

Wednesday 2^d^ Nov. 1836 Came up S^t^ Louis R about 40 miles and encamped above the "Glukie Rapids["] [44]

Nov. 3^d^ 1836 Entered east Savannah river about 3 P.M. and got near to the entrance of the Prairie where we encamped.

This river is extremely serpentine in some instances we made windings of 6 to 7 miles without getting one mile direct in our route.

Nov. 4^th^ 1836 Early in the day entered the Prarie, and through an error on the map (which by the bye we found very incorrect in many instances) went up the wrong channel which led us into an endless swamp

Found our error when we had lost nearly the whole day

Returned, and proceeded [45] Saw three immense moose deer but could not get near enough to have a shot at them

[43] For the location of the Grand Rapids, see *post*, 5:33 n. 12.

[44] This name does not appear on contemporary maps of the region but they show rapids just below the mouth of the Cloquet River, and the similarity in the two names when spoken leads one to wonder if McLeod did not mistake "Cloquet" for "Glukie."

[45] At the junction of the St. Louis and East Savanna rivers the former comes in from the north and the latter from the general direction of Sandy Lake to the south. With a carrying-place between them the East and West Savanna rivers form a good canoe route to Sandy Lake. McLeod designates some branch of the East Savanna as the Prairie River. Contemporary maps show the Prairie as a branch of the West Savanna, and the stream still bears that name. The map which Dickson's party used must have been quite incorrect, indeed, if it showed Prairie River as a branch of the East Savanna River. Schoolcraft notes that the East Savanna River forks twelve miles above its mouth, but fails to state up which branch his party went. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels from*

Encamped in a grove of poplars.

Nov^r 5^th 1836 Got to the Savannah Portage which we found so *damnable* that we had to wade in water up to our hips for nearly 3 miles and carry our trunks &c &c to boot.

6^th & 7 Nov^r Finished our Portage. In this place our party shot 23 hares in a few hours. This Portage is 8 miles.

8^th Nov^r Started in west Savannah river. Came to a small lake which we found frozen and had to break our way through. Made 2 portages 60 & 450 yards & encamped

Wednesday 9^th Nov^r 1836 Gen^l D[ickson] and Capt Parys left encampment to proceed to Sandy Lake on foot. About 11 o'clock started in Canoes & found great difficulty in getting through water so shallow.

2 P.M. entered Sandy Lake which is surrounded with lovely scenery, and is itself one of the most delightful lakes I have ever seen. On our arrival at the AM. F. Cos trading house situated on the Missisippi near the upper end of the lake found our friends had arrived before us both those in the second Canoe and the Pedestrians

Met a highland welcome from M^r Morrison the person in charge of the Sandy Lake establishment [46]

Thursday 10^th Nov^r 1836 Making preparations for an immediate start up the Missisippi 300 miles to Lake Winnipeg. Weather still mild hope to succeed in getting there with Canoes. Observed a number of coffins containing bodies placed on poles about 12 feet high Learned that that is frequently the Indian mode of depositing their bodies in this part of the Indian Country.

Detroit Northwest through the Great Chain of American Lakes to the Sources of the Mississippi River in the Year 1820, 220 (Albany, 1821).

[46] Allan Morrison, younger brother of the William Morrison who claimed to be the first white man to have visited Lake Itasca, the source of the Mississippi River, came to the Northwest about 1820 and became an important fur-trader. In a short manuscript sketch of the fur trade he states that his brother William built the original fort at Sandy Lake. Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike in his *Expeditions to Headwaters of the Mississippi River,* 1: 139 (Coues edition, New York, 1895) records that this event took place in 1794. The American Fur Company's post, however, was not on the site of the original fort. The relative position of the two posts is shown on Lieutenant Allen's map, which accompanies his *Expedition to Northwest Indians* (serial 257).

Friday 11 Nov^{r} Left Sandy Lake at 1 P.M. Came up the Missisippi about 10 miles. River very winding. Land apparently good and covered with large timber, mostly elm, but not, in many places, favorable for farmers as the river o'er flows in the spring

Saturday 12th Nov^{r} 1836 Made about 50 miles. River still very winding. Weather pleasant.

Sunday 13. Came 40 miles. Weather cold.

Monday 14. Still cold, & very unpleasant paddleing. Came 30 to 40 miles.

Tuesday 15. Exceedingly cold, with a snow storm. Obliged to encamp early. Fingers half frozen.

Wednesday 16. Passed the rapids and arrived early at the Falls of Peckagama Made the portage & encamped about 5 miles above the Falls. [47]

Thursday 17. All day paddleing through immense Praries or fields of grass 7 to 8 f^{t} high. Encamped at P^{t} du Chane. [48]

Friday 18 Still in the Praries. River frozen in many places. Ice to break. much difficulty in getting through. 3 P.M. came to the mouth of lacross river found it frozen. Made portage to get into lake lacross (1/2 mile)

Crossed the lake after dark & fell in with Indians who guided us to a fishing lodge on the N.W. side of the lake, near which we encamped.

Saturday 19. Started about 9 a.m. Found passage at the upper end of the lake frozen Obliged to break the ice a long distance to get near the shore in doing so broke the Canoe in which I was in. Had all to jump on the ice and haul her up to prevent her from sinking. Made a long Portage* to little lake

*[*Note.*] about 3 miles

[47] For a discussion of the various spellings of the name of the Pokegama Falls, just above the present town of Grand Rapids, see Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 147. Schoolcraft, in his *Narrative Journal*, 241, 242, gives the number of rapids below the falls as nine and the length of the portage around the cataract as 275 yards.

[48] McLeod's French spelling is not always of the best. Pointe aux Chênes, now called White Oak Point, is described by Ely in his diary for May 30, 1834, thus: "that point itself is a most beautiful spot of *Oak* & rich soil — there are old Indian Gardens on the Pt. we stopped & built a fire. The Indian name is Memishimishika."

Winnipeg. Left canoes behind us at lac lacross. Arrived late at night at upper Winnipeg where we saw an Indian dance and a variety of feats performed by Indians in a state of nudity. Mem° smoaked the Calumet and danced for a few moments, at their "finale".[49]

Sunday 20th Remained in hut all day. dull & melancholy
Monday 21st In hut all day.
Tuesday 22d do do
Wednesday 23 Making fur Gloves for myself
Thursday 24 Preparing for Journey
Friday 25 Out shooting. No luck
Saturday 26 All the party started on foot, with dogs & traineaux to carry our Trunks. Provisions, blankets, &c &c carried by each individual. *Grub for eight days.*

Mons Belange's residence at upper lake Winnipeg is very pleasantly situated on the west side of the Missisippi. The old man has been in the Indian country fifty years, has a squaw wife two sons & a daughter — and a number of grand children and appears quite happy in his solitude. We were civilly treated during our 6 days stay there.[50]

[49] The traveler by canoe today could pass through these same bodies of water, but on his map "lac lacross" would be Ball Club Lake, and "upper Winnipeg" would be Lake Winnibagoshish.

[50] The dog sleds which Dickson's party procured at Monsieur Bélanger's cabin were the customary vehicle for winter travel in the Northwest. The full French name was *traineaux de glace.* "These sleds are made of a single plank turned up at one end like a fiddlehead." Pike, *Expeditions,* 1:141. Anyone who is curious to see one of these relics of early days in Minnesota will find a specimen in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society. Augustin Bélanger is listed as a *voyageur* of the Northwest Company in the Fond du Lac Department in 1804, in Louis R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest,* 1:410 (Quebec, 1889). Lieutenant Allen states that Bélanger had lived at this post for several years "without once going below." Allen also gives an interesting description of Bélanger's garden, cows, and surroundings, and on his map shows the location of the post. He notes that bearskins comprised the bulk of the packs from this post. *Expedition to Northwest Indians,* 40 (serial 257). On the map which accompanies his narrative Allen shows Bélanger's post on the north shore of the lake, thus disagreeing with McLeod as to its location. The Reverend William T. Boutwell, in his diary for July 9, 1832, also states that the post was on the north shore of the lake. Change

We left upper lake Winnipeg about 10 a.m. crossed the lake on the ice (15 miles) Walking difficult and exceedingly fatiguing as there is no snow as yet upon the ice.

Sunday 27. Started two hours before day, by moonlight. Morning cold, but delightfully clear and pleasant. About sun raise took the ice on the Missisippi inlet to lake Winnipeg followed it about 15 miles, and at 11 a m came to Red cedar lake (or "Cass" lake as it is called in the map) here we waited an hour for some of our party who had not come up.

Crossed Cass lake (3 leagues) found it bad walking on the ice which is as "smooth as the surface of a polished mirror" (as our novelists would say)

At 4 P.M. arrived at the Fur Co's station at Cass lake. All the party much fatigued from the difficulty of walking on the smooth ice. Came 30 miles today.

In the evening dined a la Turque on excellent venison furnished by M^r^ Aiken* J^r^

*[*Note.*] 25^th^ Jan^y^ 37. Just heard that M^r^ Aiken has been shot dead by an Indian.[51]

of location for trading posts, however, was not uncommon as may be seen from Boutwell's statement that Bélanger "has been here two years." Boutwell accompanied Schoolcraft in 1832 and later was a missionary at Leech Lake. The original of his diary is lost, but a copy made by J. Fletcher Williams is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Ely in his diary on May 27, 1834, mentions fifteen cows belonging to Monsieur Bélanger and a "very acceptable present of a few pounds of Excellent Butter." A manuscript "List of Persons employed by the American Fur C^o^ at Fond du Lac & dependencies 1834" in the American Fur Company Papers, Miscellaneous, 1:38, a copy of which is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, gives the names of Augustin Bellanger, Jr., Joseph Bellanger, Pierre Bellanger, and Paul Bellanger "dit Katoken." Jean Baptiste and François Bellanger, as well as those already given, are listed in the pay roll mentioned in note 30. Probably these are sons and grandsons of the original Bélanger.

[51] For an account of the murder of Alfred Aitken, half-breed son of William A. Aitken, see Warren in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5:484, 485. The story of the murder as given by a juror for the trial of the Indian differs considerably from that related by Boutwell, who at the time resided at Leech Lake, near the scene of the murder. The latter's story, if correct, exonerates Aitken from the charge that his improper attentions to a beautiful young squaw occasioned the murder. The elder Aitken had

Monday 28th Obliged to rest as a number of the party are unable to proceed from the fatigue of yesterday's march and the bruises which they received from frequent falls upon the ice. Indeed all our men were so *"done up"* that they did not arrise yesterday till near dark.

Remained in house all day reading "The author of Cyril Thornton's Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns"

Dont' think much of the work. Not so good as Napier's.

Tuesday 29. Left Cass lake. Had bad walking all day viz on small lakes. Ice very smooth & difficult to stand upon. Came about 30 miles. One of the men gave up early in the day and had to encamp 5 miles behind us with a comrade who remained behind with him.

Wednesday 30th Still on small lake & bad walking. At the entrance of Rice Lake I fell through the Ice and got a severe ducking as it was deep (about 15 ft) Got out without assistance and started as fast as possible for the encampment which had been made by one of our party who had preceeded us but having mistaken the direction, passed the camp 5 miles and was nearly frozen before some of the party (who had followed me) came up, as my hands were so benumbed that I could not light a fire.

Thursday 1st Decr About 12 o'clock arrived fatigued enough at Red lake a large lake from 60 to 70 miles long and 15 to 20 wide it empties its waters into Red river which flows into great lake Winnipeg

Mr Fairbanks the person in charge here treated us with much hospitallity. He appears to have been many years in the Indian Country as he has six fine children by a native woman. He speaks the Chippewa language very fluently and is otherwise well acquainted with Indian affairs.[52]

the murderer taken to Prairie du Chien for trial. Strange to relate, the verdict was "not guilty" and the Indian was released. This is said to have been the first criminal case tried under the territorial law of Wisconsin. Boutwell Diary, December 8, 1836; John H. Fonda, "Early Reminiscences of Wisconsin," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 5:271 (Madison, 1868).

[52] John H. Fairbanks was born in Champlain, New York, in 1802, and came west with Lyman M. and Truman A. Warren in 1818. The record

Friday 2d Decr Feel very fatigued and have a severe pain in one of my ancles, which troubled me slightly before I commenced walking. Poor prospect; as I have yet to walk a march of about 16 days. We find much difficulty in procuring a guide, which we are told is absolutely necessary in going through the immense praries between this and the Brulé settlement on Red river as it frequently happens that those who have been through the Plains, loose themselves (upon a second or third attempt), for some days.

Not having any thing to amuse myself with during this day's rest I, by a wonderful chance, got hold of very old copies of "The lady of the Lake," the 2d vol of the "Scottish Chiefs["] and the 2d vol of Thaddeus of Warsaw With these prizes I thought to enjoy myself, but was painfully disappointed as my ancle would not let me rest with comfort.

I then thought to dissipate the pain by exercise and went out shooting. Saw some Pheasants, which are numerous in this Country but exceedingly wild.

Had no luck. So I set this day down not as a day of rest but one of disappointment.

In the evening went to an Indian hut to pass a few moments with their peculiarities

By the by I have hitherto forgotten that these children of nature are great gamblers in their own way, frequently staking their little all — Such as their blanket leggins Pipe Belt Tobacco Tomahawk &c &c

The only game I have seen them play is called the "shoe game" and is their principle and favorite one. Their manner of playing it is this.

They spread a blanket sufficiently wide for 6 or 8 persons to set round it, and then place on it four shoes (or Indian moccasins) along side each other. One of the players then takes four bullets and having [made] a mark upon one [of] them with his

of an interesting interview between Fairbanks and Joseph A. Gilfillan, giving the main points of the old trader's life, is among the manuscripts in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. It was Fairbanks who established the first post at Cass Lake. According to Mrs. Spears (see *ante*, n. 37) Fairbanks had six sons and two daughters.

teeth he places, three of them under three of the shoes and retains the fourth

One of the party then bets, and uncovers two of the bullets (which is his privilege) Should either of those uncovered be the marked bullet the better has not won but [has lost should neither be the marked one] [53] he then strikes one of the two remaining shoes which he knows must hide the proper bullet unless the person who places the balls should have retained the marked one; which very frequently happens. In that case the play goes round to the next and so on till some one has guessed where the marked ball is. He then is proclaimed the winner amid all manner of shouts and singing. Tobacco is the principle stake and is put down by all the party at the commencement and he that first strikes the winning bullet takes up all the stakes.

During the progress of the game some one or two of the party sings. Not unfrequently however they all join chorus, at the top of their voices.

Such is the manner these simple but happy people pass many of the long winter evenings and while standing by, I could not but envy their happiness yet upon reflection, to me, they appear miserable How noble and truly philanthropic the attempt of regenerating these people The[y] are, I feel confident, susceptible of all the refinements of civilized life. Still, perhaps, they would not be so happy —

If ignorance is bliss
'Tis folly to be wise

Sat 3^{d} Dec^{r} At 2 P.M. left Red lake and proceeded down the lake in the direction of Indian encampments where all our party, (but four,) who had gone on before us, had been directed to await our coming up: but they having taken the wrong path we missed them, and it growing dark before we could find the Indian lodges, we were three or four hours wandering in the wood till at last we met two Indians who guided us to their lodges where we passed the night, and were hospitably treated, more so perhaps, as the men, masters of the different lodges, about fifteen, were absent, and none left at home but the females,

[53] The passage enclosed in brackets has been crossed out in the original.

and a few of the young lads. I say so because the Indians of this place bear a bad name. But as I have ever found it, we were friendly and generously treated by the gentle sex. Here we found our two Indian guides who informed us that our party had encamped near a small stream, which led off the path we had followed, about 6 miles behind

Sunday 4th Decr Early this morning our party came up having passed the night in some vacant lodges which they discovered near the path they had followed and mistook for the appointed rendezvous.

Took the Ice on red lake and travelled about 30 miles to day.

Monday 5th Decr Weather severly cold, At 8 a m entered upon the red fork of red river,[54] had travelled but a few miles when one of our party got his face badly frozen. Obliged to stop and light a fire. In the evening came to three Indian lodges where we were treated with a small piece of boiled Bear's meat, and then went on with renewed vigor.

Tuesday 6th Decr Weather milder Still on the ice which is so smooth that it is almost impossible to stand upon with any degree of security and so exceedingly difficult to walk upon that some of the men frequently requested to be left behind to die, in preference to suffering continual bruises from frequent falls which the poor fellows could not avoid and which their timidity made more frequent and more severe.

Wednesday 7th Our route yet through the red fork, but to day we made a number of traverses through small praries covered with thick underwood to avoid the windings of the river, which like all rivers in this Country, is very crooked.

Thursday 8th Our route nearly same as yesterday, but obliged to 'camp early, one of our party (McL) from weakness, being unable to continue his journey all day.

Friday 9th At 11 a.m. came to Voleuse or Thieveing river so called; from a band of Sioux Indians, who were in the habit

[54] Joseph N. Nicollet's map shows Red Lake River flowing west from Red Lake and adds, "also called Red Fork River." The map accompanies Nicollet's *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River* (26 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 237 — serial 380).

of lurking near it for the purpose of stealing from the traders who formerly passed by this route into the great Praries.[55] If the trading party happened to be small the Indians seldom hesitated to take their lives, for the double purpose of getting their scalps and goods.

We were not, however, under any great apprehension, as at this season all the hunters and Indian braves are confined to their hunting grounds.

After enjoying a short rest we entered upon the Prarie; all the party delighted to get off the ice and pleased with the prospect of a speedy termination to our fatiguing journey.

We had proceeded on the Prarie about 15 miles when we came to a grove of poplars, where we discovered a number of hares. Some of the party being very weak and all of them fatigued we proposed an hour's rest while our sportsmen should go and enjoy themselves among the hares. Our guides laid down their packs, and with evident satisfaction joined the persons who went in search of hares

In the mean time the rest of the party wandered about in various directions. Some in search of water, others on the look out for a good place to encamp as we purposed to have a feast of hares — and each person as he came out of the wood, after hunting, continued his route in the direction the greater number of the party had taken. In this manner we continued our ramble for five miles, till we discovered a favorable spot for encamping. In the evening when all our party had mustered we found our guides missing, but suspected no harm as they had appeared very happy and cheerful all day. But long after dark, when we had fired a number of shots, and the guides not coming up we began to have serious apprehensions that they had deserted; and dispatched a person in search of them, who returned about midnight, with the unpleasant intelligence that he had

[55] Thief River is a tributary of Red Lake River. A picture of the fur-trade activity in the vicinity of Leech Lake, Red Lake, and the Red River is contained in chapters 4 and 6 of the journal of Alexander Henry in volume 1 of Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897). These portions of Henry's journal indicate that there was a well-established canoe route between Red Lake and Red River in the heyday of Northwest Company enterprise.

found (unopened) the packs which the guides had carried — their carrying straps taken off, and their bundles provisions &c gone. This was indeed melancholy proof that the young rascals had abandoned us. And for what reason or cause — We all formed a thousand conjectures.

To add to the painful reflection that we were in a wild and unknown country with but a few days allowance of miserable food and at a great distance from any settlement *without guides,* we were all night annoyed by the dismal howling of wolves in every direction round our camp and connected with the cries of this animal we had fears of an attack from the Sioux Indians, as has frequently happened in the very Praries in which we were then encamped. These Indians when they have hostile intentions gather their band together by imitating the cries of a wolf or the screams of the owl, and never attack but at the dawn of day. We had been informed of their habits, and frequently warned to be upon our guard. So that this night — what from loosing our guides — the cries of wolves, or supposed enemies, few of us slept, although all were wearied with fatigue & weakened with long privations.

Saturday 10th Dec^{r} At day break we were summoned together, and informed by Gen^{l} D[ickson] that as our guides had desserted and as we had but five days provisions, and had yet to travel near three hundred miles in a strange country of which we had not an accurate map, he left us all to act, each man for himself, to either follow him, as it was his determination to trust to fortune and push forward, or return to Red lake and there wait untill they could procure a guide. I had previously made up my mind to continue my route at every risk, and all the rest with the exception of two preferring to follow Gen^{l} D., we made immediate preparations to start.

In the meantime M^{c}L[oughli]n & M^{c}B[ea]n the *two* who decided upon returning endeavoured to persuade a number of the men to return with them by pointing out the great dangers they were exposing themselves to — Such as starving, or freezing to death *"casting lots to eat each other"* &c &c

For the first 15 miles we had come in the Prarie we found the marks of an old track which formerly led to Pembina when

there was a post there of the A.M. F. Co. and we had had strong hopes that we would be able to find it in different places, (particularily where the grass was long) sufficiently distinct to indicate the proper route but this morning all our hopes were clouded by the appearance of a snow storm. However we had taken our determination and were not to be easily shaken [56]

We each shouldered his pack, and having bid a melancholy adieu to our friends, who said they had not a hope of seeing us again and promised to inform our friends of our fate should we perish, we entered upon the path and proceeded for a number of miles in great silence not so much as uttering a word to each other.

At length we came to an immense open plain without the appearance of a tree upon it as far as the eye could reach except in a W.N.W course where we could distinguish trees about 25 miles distant.

Here we lost the path completely but having held a consultation we determined to proceed across the plain in the direction of the trees and endeavour if possible to arrive at them before dark as we did not like the idea of sleeping out in the plain without fire to warm us or water to cook our food. Long after dark we came to a ravine in the Prarie which contained some ice but not a drop of water. Here we determined to remain till morning as the trees were still at a great distance, as near as we could distinguish. We found a small clump of underwood and having made a small fire with a few branches, and eaten a handful each, of parched corn with some water (still more gratful)

[56] Doubtless the American Fur Company traders made use of Red River carts in their summer journeys between Red Lake and Pembina, for the dog sleds, known to have been commonly used on this route in the winter, would hardly have left a well-defined track. Boutwell's diary contains several references to intercourse between Leech Lake and the Red River settlements by American Fur Company traders, notably in the entries for February 7 and 14, March 16, and October 11, 1834. The first entry cited shows that Boutwell had a keen desire to visit the Red River settlements and that he was deeply disappointed when William Aitken's proposed business trip to that quarter in the spring of 1834 was cancelled, for Boutwell had planned to accompany the trader.

melted from the ice we lay down near our little blaze and endeavoured to sleep but the attempt was fruitless.

We passed a most miserable night The wind blew strong from the N.W. and so cold that we had difficulty to keep ourselves from freezing as we had but one blanket each.

Sunday 11 Dec[r] Never was the dawn of day more welcome to *miserables* than this to us. To save time our allowance of rice was boiled in the night but the continual blowing had so filled it with charcoal and ashes that but two or three of the party could stomach a few spoon fulls of it. The rest (myself among the number) travelled all day without eating a morsel or drinking a drop, and the snow that we so much dreaded the day before would now have been more welcome than gold.

Our course to day was W.N.W. We saw a great number of Pheasants but they were so very wild that all our attempts to kill, some of them, failed.

In the evening came to a fine stream of water running through a fine grove of elms. The sight was hailed with delight and here we determined to encamp. A few moments after our arrival an Indian with his gun in his hand and a bullet in his mouth came cautiously creeping up to us. I discovered him and conjecturing his intentions, immediately ran up to him and offered him my hand which he accepted with a feigned smile, at the same time (as near as I could understand) observing that he was glad to find we were Englishmen and friendly to his tribe adding that the bullet which he then held in his hand had been intended for one of us, supposing us enemies when he "first saw one or two" (myself and a nam[e]sake) enter the wood. [57]

This Savage was ["]monarch of all he surveyed" and for some weeks past had lived with his squaw dogs &c upon a bear which he had killed while on his way to some hunting ground at a distance from the Prarie.

We engaged him to conduct us to the point nearest Pembina on red river and having made him a few presents he returned to his squaw.

[57] By "namesake," McLeod probably refers to Alexander R. McLeod, Jr.

We were now pleased with the hope of getting near enough to the settlements without serious accident, & be able to make our way afterwards without difficulty.

Monday 12th Decr Started with new guide course W.N.W. by west Weather pleasant but strong appearances of a snow storm

Doubts as to the honest intentions of the Indian from his having changed the course which we had reason to suppose the correct one. At 1 P.M. encamped on a branch of the stream we left in the morning, as it will take all day to morrow to cross the plain to the next camping place.

Tuesday 13 Decr Started at day break. Guide reluctant to accompany us from the appearance of a storm which at this season in a great plain is dangerous to the traveller. After considerable difficulty persuaded him to come; but still doubtful of his honesty from his continually inclining towards the west

At 11 a m discovered trees to the W.N.W & W about thirty miles distant which the Indian said were on the banks of red river and near Pembina to which place he had agreed to guide us.

Late in the evening, after a long and fatiguing journey came to the bank of the river which sight gave us a variety of pleasing feelings

Crossed the river and immediatly changed our course to the North had gone but a few miles when the Indian requested his pay (a blanket) saying that as he had left his squaw alone with but little food he was anxious to return, assuring us that a few hours walk would bring us to Pembina near which we would find on the river bank the old cart track which in three days would lead us to the settlement at the Assiniboin. His story was plausible. We suffered ourselves to be duped and the rascal returned, (no doubt) laughing at our credulity. I however had had my doubts all the time & opposed they [*sic*] payment of the cunning fellow but it was of no avail.

Having gone some miles and perceiving no appearance of the settlements which formerly existed at Pembina [58] — and being all

[58] In 1823, after five years' establishment, the Selkirk settlers at Pembina, suspecting that they were located south of the boundary line, removed farther down the river to the mother colony at the junction of the

much fatigued we encamp'd near what we thought a large stream flowing from the Praries into red river, but upon cutting the ice we discovered to our disappointment, that it was a pool of stagnant mineral water

Hunger obliged us to cook half our remaining p[in]t* each of

*[*Note.*] We had been obliged to leave with the guides wife some of our rice.

rice with the mineral water and either from its effects or that of some bears grease (which I had got from the squaw for a hkf) we were nearly all taken severly ill in the course of the night

Wednesday 14th Decr So unwell that it was with difficulty I could walk ten minutes at a time without throwing myself down in the grass. Our route to day from p[oin]t to pt on red river across the immense plain which extends to the west 15 or 20 days journey

No appearance of Pembina and having got on an old cart track on the Prarie hope that we have left it behind us and far to the right. Made a miserable sort of broth (this evening) of a few handfuls of rice boiled with water, and to add to our

Assiniboine and Red rivers. Another factor leading to removal was the wet and low character of the land at Pembina. See Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress, and Present State,* 75 (London, 1856) and J. V. Arnold, *The History of Old Pembina,* 101 (Larimore, North Dakota, 1917). It is unlikely, however, that all the half-breeds and Indians left Pembina. In fact Major Long on his visit in the summer of 1823, after the colonists had departed, mentions "about 300 persons in all," inhabitants of the village, most of whom were of mixed blood, who were away on a buffalo hunt when he arrived. With the addition of "the few that remained," the village could not be called depopulated at that time. See the entries for August 6, 7, and 8 in the manuscript diary in three volumes kept by Major Stephen H. Long on his expedition of 1823. McLeod's references, however, indicate that there was no settlement at Pembina in the fall of 1836. As the years between the entries in Long's journal and those in McLeod's form a very obscure period in the history of the place, it is impossible at present to account for the abandonment of it. In the forties it again became a fur-trading post of some consequence, and the census of 1850 gives it a numerous half-breed population. The Minnesota Historical Society has manuscript schedules of the 1850 census for Minnesota, including the population schedule for the Pembina district.

misery, boiled without salt, it having been left at one of our encampments some days ago by the negligence of the men.

Thursday 15th Started without tasting food Route on the old cart track till 1 P.M. when we lost it

Genl D[ickson] having started first continued his course directly West towards a pt of wood about 15 miles off which he took for one of the bends of red river

At the same time myself and three others directed our course towards an opening which we perceived in the wood about ten miles off in a N.W. course.

Upon our arrival at the opening we immediatly discovered that we had taken the right course and awaited the coming up of the men who fortunately for them had not seen Genl D. and had followed us. Here we found a river 8 yards wide flowing into red river and immediatly suspected that it was Pembina river where we should have been left two days before by the Indian. It was only 2 P.M. but we thought it best to encamp and await the coming up of Genl D in the event of his discovering his error before dark.

Friday 16th This being my third day without food (except upon one occassion a few spoons ful of rice water —) I arose early and went in search of game, but had not proceeded far when I discovered Genl D's track upon the snow which had fallen in the night He had not it appears found his error until he had gone about 20 miles off the right course — when he came upon Pembina (as we afterwards learnt), river which he followed down to where it empties into red river There before day break he pass'd within 200 yards of our camp and continued on towards the settlements in the hope of speedily overtaking us or falling in with habitations.

While we were preparing to start we were surprised to see two men with a horse & cart crossing the prarie towards us and immediatly supposed that we were near settlements — but upon their coming up were miserably disappointed to learn that we were yet at Pembina three days journey from our present destination. He could give us no information of two of our party (Genl D[ickson] & Mr P[arys]) the latter having continued his journey the day previous, when we encamped) and all the food

he could spare was a small rib of beef about 2 ozs each. This we boiled in a pot of water eagerly eat and then went on our way cursing the rascally Indian who had deceived us having guided us to the nearest point, from his hut, on red river in order to get his blanket. Not careing for us who had left ourselves without food to share it with him in the hope that his knowledge of the Country would speedily guide us to relief.

About 3 P.M. the wind changed while we were in the middle of a Prarie traverse and in a short time it became so severly cold that before we could make to the wood for shelter four of the men were so severly frozen that they could with difficulty reach the camp. All this night we were obliged to sit up and keep on a very large fire to prevent ourselves from being frozen to death.

Nearly all the party were woebegone and looked miserable.

Saturday 17th We had not crawled more than about 10 miles this morning when we discovered 3 men making towards us.

They proved to be Mr P[arys] (one of our party) and two Canadians who had come out in search of us. Mr P. after he left us on the 15th continued on his route all night in the expectation of finding some habitation, and about 3 in the morning met with a person returning from the settlement to his shanty with wood about 25 miles from Pembina. Fortunatly this person had with him a cart load of provisions & prevailed upon Mr P. to accompany him to the Shanty. The weather becoming severly cold & we not coming up Mr P. became fearful of our safety knowing that we were without food. This induced him to come in search of us bringing the two Canadians and Provisions which never was more welcome to half famished wretches.

The men devoured so eagerly that in a short time they became sick. In the mean time nothing had been heard or seen of Genl D[ickson] since the morning of the 15th and we had serious apprehensions for his safety as when he left us he had not a morsel of food with him nor even a blanket to protect him at night nor any means of lighting a fire. We immediatly despatched one of the Canadians and one of our party with food in search of him — and then went to the Shanty where we passed the rest of the day.

Sunday 18th Early this morning we left the shanty — having left there two of the men who were unable to walk any longer During our journey this day we discovered Genl D's foot prints different times and had strong hopes that he had arrived in safety at the settlement about 45 miles off.

This night we suffered much from the cold, being obliged to encamp in a small ravine in the Prarie where we were exposed to a severe N.W. wind which blew violently all night. Nearly all our blankets were more or less burnt and some of the men got their cloths & limbs burned — from being obliged to lie so near the fire. Thus while one side was freezing the other was in danger of being injured by the fire

Monday 19th Decr We did not leave the camp till 11 o'clock being fearful of exposing ourselves on the Prarie — the cold being so intense — but having no provisions we were obliged to start and after wrapping all our blankets round us we again took our weary way I had on Flannels, a Blanket Cappeau a thick Blanket wrapp'd round me and over all a very thick Pilot cloth Cloak and on my feet 3 pr Stocking and 2 pr of Indian Moccasins and yet with all my exertions could scarsly keep myself from being frozen. All the men got their faces feet and hands severly frozen in walking about 15 miles. At length we came in sight of Hay stacks a proof that we were near some settlement and soon after met a Metiff with a horse an[d] train bringing provisions to us. Behind one of the stacks we lighted a fire and eat some dried Buffalo meat. From this person we learned that Genl D. had arrived at the settlement the day previous two hours before the persons who had been sent in pursuit of him. He (Genl D) had been frozen in a number of places and otherwise suffered much.

Early in the evening came to settlements met Genl D. who was happy to find that we had escaped the severity of the weather without loosing any lives. We were not the less so to meet him again alive.

Tuesday 20th Decr Came to Red River settlement to the residence of Mr Millian* one of the wealthiest farmers in the

*[*Note added in pencil.*] Maximillian Gouta

settlements Here we took up our lodging for the present as there is no inn in the Colony

Wednesday 21st In house all day saw but a few of the Inhabitants yet. Can say nothing about them.

Thursday 22d Very unwell from the effects, no doubt, of eating strong food after being so long living upon what merly kept soul & body together.

Indeed, upon reflection I wonder much how we ever got through our journey.

Upon our departure from Red Lake we each carried a knapsack of cloths & provisions (rice and parched corn) for twelve days — short allowance — which in all weighed about 50 lbs to each person. Upon this most miserable food (the only kind we could get) we had a very long march to make (as we came, about 500 miles) at a very inclement season where sometimes we had to encamp without either wood or water. most of the men were broken down by previous fatigue & privations. In a word our prospect was truly miserable, yet we got through, *and without guides* — to the great astonishment of many of the oldest voyageurs in this place. The whole distance we had travelled on foot from the 26 Novr (— as we came) is about 645 miles during that time we lived upon a pt of boiled rice each pr day and were 4 days without food of any kind except two ozs each of meat and a small Partridge divided between 9 persons.

25 Decr (Christmas day) In house all day — unwell — ten thousand reflections — never passed so dull a holy day before. In evening visited my old polish friend Mr P[arys]

Long chat with him about his unhappy country. Thinks he never will see it again unless the tyrant Nicholas should die within a few years and a change takes place in favor of the polish exiles.

Mr P. served under Ramarino and left his country immediatly after the fall of Warsaw — to avoid the fury of the Czar. [59]

Another year has fled:—

How strange the past; How doubtful the future. This day a year ago I was on my way to visit a dear friend — three thousand

[59] Warsaw capitulated to czarist troops under Paskevitch, September 8, 1831.

miles distant — and here I am now in a strange Country without a friend* — unknown and unregarded. n'importe I have hope

*[*Note.*]

And what is friendship but a name
A charm that lulls to sleep
A shade that follows wealth and fame
And leavs the wretch to weep

8th Jany 1836[1837].

still, for my companion, and there are other days in the womb of time. 31st Decr 1836.

Sunday 1 Jany 1837. Went to the Roman Catholic church. People poor and ignorant. Priest apparently dull and stupid. All bowing and chaunting — the mere mockery of religion, yet no doubt acceptable to the Deity when offered in sincerity.

2d Jany 1837. This day 1836 was with my dear E—— wonder if I am forgotten [60]

Had hopes then that are forever lost — Gone — Sacrificed for a bauble.

"Thirst in snow covered Countries"

Travellers have not deemed the fact worth mentioning, and therefore, no one who has not suffered can imagine or believe that during winter, man is exposed on the cold and snow covered plains of North America to the most painful of privations, — that even while walking on frozen water, he is agonized by parched & burning lips — and that by snow, eaten under such circumstances, the thirst of the traveller or hunter is proportionally increased.

When out in either of these capacities the agony sustained by them from thirst is often very great — it is truly painful while it lasts and contrary to the sufferer's expectation, he finds that by eating snow, his mouth is more and more inflamed — and his desire for drink fearfully augmented — while a lassitude comes over him which water only can dissipate.

It is to be observed however that it is only on the plains that the experienced hunter or traveller is exposed to such hardships

[60] See *ante*, n. 20.

That occurs frequently in this Country where the traveller's route is for the most part through wide plains — covered with long rank grass and snow — stretched out in all directions presenting a smooth, white unbroken surface terminating in the horizon

Every one going to any distance at this season, carries as an essential article in his equipment, a small kettle in which he melts snow, and boils water. To allow the water to boil is a necessary part of the process; for if the snow is merly melted the water has a smoked and bitter taste, and a drink of it is far from refreshing.

On the contrary, when the water is allowed to boil, and then cooled by throwing into it plenty of the purest snow, no spring water is more delightful to the taste or more satisfying to the wants of the thirsty traveller". Jan^{y} 1837.

22 Jan^{y} 1837.

A home brewed Ball

Having nothing particular to do, yesterday, I strolled down to the settlement — that is the thick settled part — which is made up of all colors and all breeds — Scotch, English, Irish and Canadian half and quarter breeds — with here and there, by way of relief, a canny son of Scotia, or a genuine pat — although years from his dear native isle — still retaining all the peculiarites of his Countrymen and not the least unwelcome among the motley group — a few straggling Canadians who came to the Country years ago to "make their fortunes" and after years of toil, attached themselves to squaws — still hoping to slip off, and return to the land of their fathers, and pass their last days with their friends or perhaps with the still dear object of their youthful affections, when in slipt a jesuitical prying priest who by dint of praying and frightening compelled them to unite in "holy matrimony" with their d——d ugly squaws (rather a bitter pill) and adopt their children — certainly a just retribution, if not altogether a pleasant one — as these amorous aborigines are neither delicate or particular, frequently having many children by different persons. "All is fish that comes into their net" notwithstanding what has been "said and sung" about their romantic love, and undivided attachment — but to the "Ball"

A friend and myself were invited to "make two" at a party which was to be given at the house of a batchelor aspiring to the *enchanting* chain of matrimony. At my entrance I found myself in a room about 18 ft square — the only room in the jolly batchelor's house — surrounded by a congruous assemblege of all the "fashionables" of the place seated on boards placed on sacks of grain and extending all round the room — the fire place excepted.

The discordant squawling of some half doz; of "perpetuations" drew my attention from the more attractive gaze of a group of dark eyed female brules when to my horror I beheld chucked away in a corner a number of self indulging and most indulgent mamas with their hopeful progeny straped on ornamented boards or Indian cradles, after the manner of the *natives*.

This gave me sufficient evidence that in addition to the two most important persons in the room — the fidlers — we should not want accompaniments in the shape of *sounds most natural*

The ball was opened by four juveniles of mixed breed, — certainly not more than six years old. After a few preliminary blushes, and a sufficient display of antics these hopefuls retired amid the plaudits of their admiring parents and friends.

The next on the boards were two pairs of middle aged "magnates"

The two *gentlemen* were from distant and different parts of the old world — one a real "Yorkshire" the other a blessed Corkonian. Their partners were both dark eyed houris of the metiff blood. The happy and excited hibernian set the whole house in a roar of admiration by his wonderful display of the light fantastic toe. I have seen mountebanks in "all their glory" but never before did I behold a man, either in or out of a ball room cut such fantastic capers. Pat was determined (as there were strangers present) to out do all the rest in politeness, that characteristic of his Countrymen, at every turn made a most profound bow and immediatly recovering himself strutted off with evident self satisfaction

The englishman felt he was out done and was modest; the females done their best but were evidently not at home in that department of the "fine arts". Jigs and reels were the order of the night.

All the party appeared to enjoy themselves most outrageously and although there was a great lack of females and female charms these dear obliging creatures neither appeared fatigued nor displeased with themselves.

The master of the *ceremonies* appeared to be the only unhappily situated person in the room The continual and general thirst made this person's calls to the cellar very frequent; that could only be had access to at intervals — while the *bow string* was relaxed — when down slipp'd our worthy "*master*" and there he had to remain until the jig or reel was finished, when he was once more admitted to the regions of bliss. Liquors of all kinds in this territory are scarce — some times not to be had. Spirits are occasionally used Wine only heard of

The good batchelor failed in procuring either; his ball could not be put off — what was to be done. Why man says he to one of his friends, I have barley and ye ken there is no lack of "hops" All modern refinements, those innovations on conviviality were dispensed with and that night we all got glorious on "home brewed" ale.

Mem^{o} Wrote to A L M & J G M^{c}K[enzie] Montreal and forwarded the letters by the H[udson's] B[ay] Co[mpany]'s Express 20 Jan^{y} 37.

25 Jan^{y}. 37. Arrived this evening, the two persons who returned from us on the Prarie 10th Dec^{r} They went back to Red lake and having procured two Indian guides set out from Red lake about the 11 Jan^{y} — being 14 days on the route. From them I learnt of the death of M^{r} Alfred Aiken who resided at Red Cedar lake. He was shot dead by an Indian who lived near his trading post. M^{r} Aiken was a Metiff, son of M^{r} Aiken a partner of the American Fur Co. and [a] young man much esteemed for his many good qualities. Among which, to my own knowledge, he possessed those of modesty and unassuming kindness. [61]

[*Note.*] The Indian who killed M^{r} Aiken has been taken and is now in chains at Fort Snelling awaiting the arrival of the St[eam] B[oa]t when he will be sent to Prarie du Chien for trial St^{t} Peters May 1837.

[61] See *ante*, n. 51.

Buffalo hunting in the West

The 1st season of the Buffalo hunting commences about the 15th June and is continued to the 1st Augt The 2d season commences in Sept and terminates late in the fall, generally about the 1st Novr leaving time sufficient to return home before the cold weather sets in. I allude to the Brules hunting as the Indian's who inhabit the Buffalo country kill these animals at all seasons.

The Brules generally set out with 500 to 600 carts drawn principally by oxen Their wives and daughters accompany these carts for the purpose of preparing the meat which is done by striping it from the bones and spreding it upon a scaffold of poles elevated from 3 to 4 ft from the ground under which they build a fire of the Buffalo dung. in this manner they continue to dry the meat as fast as it is killed by the hunters. It requires the flesh of twelve of the largest animals thus prepared to load a cart drawn by one ox — and allowing 600 carts to the spring season would make 7,200 of these animals killed in about a month by the Brules alone not including any of the various Indian tribes — such as the Sioux the Mandans, Gros ventres &c all of whom inhabit the Buffalo Country and destroy these animals by thousands and add to this too that in the spring nearly all the animals killed are cows the meat of the male not being good after a certain season. These different causes account for the rapid decrease of the Buffalo within the last few years. I have been informed by a Brule hunter that at the last hunt they had to go a journey of 15 days to the west 6 farther than ever they went before.

In the fall hunt besides the dry'd meat they make Pemmican and also bring home a great quantity of the meat in its natural state.

The Pemmican is made by drying the meat as I before mentioned it is then beaten into small pieces and placed into a sack made of the Buffalo skin — into which is pour'd a quantity of the melted fat of the animal. when it cools, it is pressed into the sack which is sewed up. in this manner it will keep for 3 or 4 years The sacks are various sizes but the common sizes are from 100 to 150 lbs The usual number of horsemen attend-

ing these hunts are about 500. however not more than from two to 300 act as hunters and are those who possess the swiftest horses.

The hunters are exceedingly expert notwithstanding which many accidents occur I have seen many of them with broken legs broken arms & disabled hands this latter accident frequently occurs from their manner of loading their guns They never use wadding. The powder is carelessly thrown — in more or less quantities — the ball is then tumbled in upon it and off goes the shot.

This is done to save time, and it is almost incredible what a number of shots one person will discharge in riding the distance of 3 to 4 miles the horse at the top of his speed.

A gentleman who has lived many years in the Buffalo Country says that upon the least Calculation four to five hundred thousand of these animals are killed yearly on this side the Missouri

Red River Colony[62]

Assiniboin belief in futurity

The Assiniboins believe, that in another life, to obtain enduring happiness, they have to climb a very high and steep mountain, the ascent of which is so difficult and dangerous that it requires many attempts, perseverance, and great fortitude to gain the summit, but once there a delightful and boundless plain is spread before them covered with eternal verdure and countless herds of Buffaloe and the other animals which they delight to hunt; and that they will find all their friends who left this life before them enjoying an uninterrupted course of happiness, dwelling in beautiful skin tents which ever appear new.

Those who have done ill in this life and have been successful enough to gain the summit of the hill — are there met by the dwellers of the happy plain, and those who knew them in this life, who bear witness against them. They are then immediatly thrown down the steep and should their necks not be broken never again attempt an ascent.

[62] Two blank pages which follow this heading in the original diary indicate that McLeod intended to describe the colony.

Those who have done good in this life are welcomed with unusual joy and immediatly admitted to all the privileges of their never ending hunting and happiness.

" This is equal to the happy valley in Rasselas

Sunday 26 Feby 1837. Left La Fourch Red River Coloney Territory of Hudson's Bay this evening and came 3 miles up the settlement to prepare for an early start to morrow to S^t^ Peters 750 miles from this — on foot. [63]

Monday 27 Started at day break. Cold with a sharp head wind. About 10 a m a severe snow storm commenced obliged to take shelter in the house of a M^r^ Micklejohn. Came about 9 miles. 5 p'm cleared off prospects of a fine day preparing snow shoes &c for Journey.

Tuesday 28^th^ Started at day break bad walking — snow deep — crossed the long traverse and waited till dogs came up. At 3. p'm had to encamp. Dogs too fatigued to proceed. Dogs never travel well the first day.

March 1, 1837, (Wednesday) Left encampment at sunraise found it exceedingly cold sleeping out after having been in a house for two months. Came 40 miles to day. arrived at a shanty where we found 14 persons (Men, women, & children) without food. They had been living for 7 days on an occasional hare and pheasant. The hunter's life is ever a precarious one. We relieved them with Pemmican from our stock for the journey, which will in all probabillity be the cause of our fasting some days before we reach lake Travers the first trading post from this — distant more than 400 miles.

March 2^d^ (Thursday) Left shanty early — morning pleasant struck off into the plain at the head of Swamp river, [64] from thence made a long traverse to a point on Pembina river fifteen miles from the head of [it? — *manuscript torn*] where we encamped, having c[o]me more than 40 miles to day. This is my third day on snow shoes and I feel excessivly fatigued.

[63] The main part of the Red River settlement was located at the forks (*la fourche*) where the Assiniboine River joins the Red River.

[64] This stream is called Swampy, or Petopek, river and is described as "a mere brook" in William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, 2:80 (Philadelphia, 1824).

3d March (Friday) Had a cold & stormy night unable to leave camp before 9 o'clock Wind ahead till 12 o'clock when it changed to the North & brought with it a snow storm which caught us on the prarie many miles from shelter. 3 p.m. came to a small wood on a bend of Tongue river one of our party, Mr P[arys] not having come up we encamped. Mr P. has no snow shoes, he persisted in not bringing any with him which may yet lead to unhappy consequences as he is unable to keep up with us in the plains, and should we be separated by a storm he will inevitably perish Indeed the poor fellow this very day, said that "he would perish in this journey". Feel miserably fatigued, and my feet are severly blistered with the strings of the Snow shoes. At every steep the blood from my toes oozes through my Moccasins.

We came through a beautiful prarie to day inclosed on three sides by woods which can be distinctly seen from the middle of the Prarie

On the N by the wood on Pembina river — W by Pembina Mountain S. by the trees bordering Tongue river forming almost a complete circle of at least 100 miles.

4 March (Friday) Saturday[65] Came a long distance to-day, snow deep and very heavy which clogs the snow shoes & makes them exceedingly fatiguing to carry. Encamped on a branch of Park river. Find Major Long's Map of this Country very incorrect[66]

5 March 1837. (Sunday) Encamped at 2 p.m on a bend of the 2d branch of Park river near the Coteau des Praries — having come about 15 miles only.[67] Snowing fast which obliged us to encamp.

[65] In the original manuscript the correction is added in pencil.

[66] Keating in his *Narrative*, 2:39, states that Park River is "of the same size as Big Salt river, and is formed by the union of several insignificant streams." Major Stephen H. Long's map, appended to volume 1 of Keating's work, shows Tongue River as a stream joining Pembina River from the south.

[67] Nearly all books of early travel in the vicinity of Red River give careful descriptions of the Coteau des Prairies. This remarkable height of land is the watershed from which start streams flowing into the Red River, the Missouri, and the Mississippi.

All the rivers in this Country are very crooked, and the timber growing upon their banks is in every instance (that I have seen) in proportion to the size of the stream.

6th March. (Monday) Bad walking. Snow deep. Encamped at 2. p.m on Saline river one of our party being too fatigued to proceed

Came about 18 miles through an immense burnt prarie.

The farther Southward we come the more snow we find

Banks of the Saline very high with timber (Elm & Oak) growing down their sides to the edge of the stream which is 5 yards wide

Near the mouth of this river there is a salt factory which must prove profitable as salt is worth 16/ Sterling P[e]r Bus[hel] at R[ed] R[iver] settlement 250 miles hence.[68] The water here is perfectly fresh and palatable, it is from a small lake about 20 miles from this downwards that the Saline flows

7th March (Friday) Tuesday[69] Last night excessivly cold. Today unable to leave camp. So stormy that it is impossible to see the distance of 10 yds on the plain, and the distance to the next wood or place of encampment is more than 30 miles — which would endanger our lives should we attempt to cross the plain in a storm. Such, is one of the many disadvantages encountered by the traveller in this gloomy region at this inclement season.

8 March 1837. (Wednesday) Wind North & piercing cold on the prarie. Crossed the great plain and arrived at Turtle river at 3 p.m where we encamped. Came 30 miles.

9 March (Thursday) In camp. Wind N.W. impossible to travel on prarie without endangering our lives.

10 March. (Friday) Excessivly cold and stormy till noon. Came a long distance to day

Encamped long after sun down on a branch of Goose river. Feel very fatigued — my feet cut and swollen from the continual use of the snow shoes which however I now begin to like and

[68] Keating mentions several salt springs along the Red River and its tributaries. He states that the Pembina settlers were in the habit of procuring salt on the Saline rivers. *Narrative*, 2: 39, 63.

[69] In the original manuscript the correction is added in pencil.

prefer keeping them on where there is but little snow & where they might be dispensed with. I also find (sore as my feet are) that I can travel a greater distance in a day with, than without them. Such is custom!!!

11 March. (Saturday) Unable [to make] the "grande traverse" (50 miles) to Shienne river the day being misty and the land marks which guide the travellar on the plain not visible [70]

Came a short distance & encamped on the lower tributary of *Goose river*

12th March (Sunday) Started at day break. route principally over immense hills not a tree or shrub visible. Saw 13 Buffaloe — one shot at by the guide but not killed though severly wounded. [71] Mr P[arys] unable to keep up with us, afraid to loose him as the drift filled up our tracks which obliged us to wait frequently for him, consequently we were unable to get across the plain to a place of encampment

Obliged to take up our place of rest for the night in a pond among a few rushes the only shelter for miles round in this dreary & monotinous region. During the past months in moments of extreme suffering I have seen and felt the interposition of a ruling and merciful providence

This evening while we were all suffering the severest torments for want of water, and without hope of getting any for many hours, the guide espied at a distance the carcases of 2

[70] McLeod follows closely the spelling of geographic names as given on Long's map. The present spelling of the name of this stream is Sheyenne River.

[71] The guide who accompanied the party was the famous Pierre Bottineau. See *post,* p. 418, and Nute, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 10: 135 n. 19. Mr. William Bottineau of Plummer, a son of Pierre, has told the writer much of the story of this expedition as he heard it from his father. His version of Dickson's motives is that the "general," having been robbed and abused in other ways by the Mexicans, desired to have revenge. When he reached the Red River settlement the Hudson's Bay Company refused to honor his drafts, being unwilling to lose its best hunters. Thus Dickson was stranded without money or equipment and had to abandon his enterprise. Mr. Bottineau also adds graphic touches to the story of this journey to Fort Snelling; for example, he tells how his father had to use the butt of his gun on McLeod to keep the latter from freezing to death.

Buffaloes recently killed. being a hunter himself curiosity led him to the spot when lo! to his great delight and our relief he found a few small pieces of wood brought there by hunters some days previous, by which means we were enabled to melt a kettle of snow.

13 March (Monday) Passed a more comfortable night than we had expected. Morning miserable — having to creep out from under our Buffalo skins, tie on our snow shoes, and take to the plain to warm ourselves. No fire! no water! no breakfast! I took a small p^{s} of frozen Pemmican, and eat it with a handful of snow — at the same time walking as fast as possible to warm myself. Soon after we started, a violent storm came on. Guide said we were lost, and would all perish — advised him to take a direct course, as near as possible and for that purpose to keep before the wind. At 3 p.m having walked since day break more than 30 miles we perceived through the drift a clump of trees where we arrived soon after happy to escape passing a second night on the plain where it is more than probable we should have been all frozen to death.

The guide says we did not come much out of our route and that we are on a branch of the Shienne river called *the river of Rushes*

14 March 1837. (Tuesday) Last night so cold could not get a moment's sleep. To day in camp. Guide unable to go on with sore eyes.

15 March (Wednesday) Last [night] as cold as the former. Day pleasant. In camp. Guide still unable to "see his way."

16 March (Thursday) Came through two praries and encamped on Shienne river.

17 March (Friday)!!! This morning when we left the camp the weather was very mild and pleasant. Guide discovered tracks of a deer and went in pursuit of it, mean time M^{r} H[ayes] M^{r} P[arys] and myself directed our course across the plain towards a p^{t} of wood on Rice river; suddenly (about 11 o'clock) a storm from the North came on that no pen can describe We made towards the wood as fast as possible it was distant about 3 miles I was foremost, the dogs following close to me, M^{r} H. not far distant, M^{r} P. 2 miles behind. In a few moments nothing was perceptable, and it was with difficulty I could keep myself

from suffocating — however I hastened on and in a short time caught a glimpse of the wood through a drifting cloud of snow. I was then not more than 300 yd^{s} from it (as near as I can possible judge) at that instant I also saw M^{r} H. who had come up within 30 yd^{s} of me and called out that I was going the wrong course exclaiming "Keep more to the right." I replied "no, no — follow me quick["] I perceived him to stoop, probably to arrange the strings of his snow shoes — an instant afterwards an immense cloud of drifting snow hid him from my view and I *saw him no more.* I cannot describe what my feelings then were — what must they have been in a few seconds afterwards when I found myself at the bottom of a ravine more than 20 f^{t} deep from which I had to use the greatest exertion to save myself from being suffocated by the snow which was drifting down upon me. Upon gaining the edge of the ravine (which I effected with the greatest difficulty having my snow shoes still on, as my hands were too cold to untie the strings of them which were frozen) I found the poor faithful dogs with their traineau buried in a snow bank.

Having dug them out my next effort was to gain the wood which I knew was on the opposite side of the ravine about 20 yd^{s} over yet I could not distinguish a tree so close & thick was the snow drifting. An hours exertion with the dogs & traineau through the deep snow in the ravine brought me into the edge of the wood which I found was composed of only a few scattered trees which would afford but a miserable shelter. I tried to make a fire — my matches were all wet — my hands were too cold to strik[e] a spark with the flint & steel. What can be done — "I must not perish" said I to myself I then thought of my companions — alas! poor fellows there can be no hope for you as I have all the blankets Buffalo robes, provisions &c (The dogs having followed me in the storm)

Having dug a hole in *a snow bank* I made a sort of shelter with my cloak and a blanket — and rolled myself in a blanket and a large buffalo robe I was then completely wet through for a shower of sleet had accompanied the storm. in a few moments it began to freeze. I was then so cold that I feared much that I should perish during the night. The night came, the storm continued unabated my situation was truly miserable Com-

panions & guide in all probillity perished — Myself in great danger of freezing also — and in a strange Country some hundred miles from any settlement or trading post

I cannot say what I felt although my usual feelings would raise to my relief frequently, and I would say to myself — "What is passed cant be helped" ["]better luck next time" ["]take it cooly" which I was evidently doing with a veangence

The greater part of the night was past listening to the roaring of the storm and the dismal howling of the wolves, together with the *pleasant* occupation of rubbing my feet to keep them from freezing.

18 March (Saturday) Never was light more welcome to a mortal. At dawn I crept from my hole and soon after heard cries. Fired two shots. soon after guide came up. he had escaped by making a fire and being a native and a *half blood* his knowledge of the Country and its dangers, saved him. Mr P was found with both legs and feet frozen. all search for Mr H proved ineffectual.

Remained all day near the scene of our disaster in the hope that some trace of Mr H. might be found.

19 March (Sunday) Started early with poor P on the dog traineau having left all our luggage behind. at 2 p.m found dogs unable to proceed with P. and him suffering too much to bear the pain occasioned by moving about. With the help of guide made a hut to leave Mr P in where he will remain for 5 or 6 days until I can send horses for him from Lake Travers 60 miles from this. Left with P all our blankets and robes except a blanket each (guide & myself) also plenty of wood cut and ice near his lodge to make water of. Out of Provisions obliged to kill one of our dogs.

Dogs meat excellent eating.

20 March (Monday) Morning stormy — accompanied with snow unable to leave camp till 2 p.m when guide & myself started Came a long distance and encamped in the "Bois de Sioux"[72] Feel very weak and unwell.

21 March. Left the "Bois de Sioux" at sun raise and ar-

[72] Ordinarily this term is used to designate the river flowing from Lake Traverse to the Red River, but McLeod, like Keating in his *Narrative*, 2: 13, applies the name to the timber fringing the stream.

rived at dark at the trading house at lake Travers having travelled 45 miles to day — with a severe pain in my right side and knee

22d March (Wednesday) at trading house — feel unwell.

23d March (Thursday) Sent the guide with another person and 2 horses and a cart for Mr P. and my *Trunk &c.* with instructions to the men to search for the body of Mr H in order that it may be decently interred at the trading house

1st April (Saturday) For the past 9 days have remained at the trading house where I am well treated by Mr Brown the gentleman in charge for *the American Fur Co* [73]

Saw the game of la cross played very frequently both by the squaws and Indians. it is a very interesting game when well contested and the female players are most astonishingly expert.

2d April 1837. (Sunday.) This morning the two men returned. poor Parys is no more. They found him in his hut dead. He had taken off the greater part of his clothes, no doubt, in the delirium of a fever caused by the excruciating pain of his frozen feet.

In the hut was found nearly all the wood we left him, his food, and a kettle of water partially frozen. Every thing indicated that he died the 2d or 3d day after our departure from him.

No trace of the body of Mr H was found. The poor fellow has long ere this become food for the savage animals that prowl these boundless wilds.

Thus has miserably perished a young and amiable man at the age of 20 in the full vigor of youth — *full of high hopes & expectations* [74]

[73] Joseph R. Brown, one of the best-known fur-traders in Minnesota, was in charge of the American Fur Company's post on the east shore of Lake Traverse near its southern end. This was the chief post of the Columbia Fur Company before its absorption by the American Fur Company in 1827. A picture of the fort as it looked in 1824 forms the frontispiece for the second volume of Keating's *Narrative*.

[74] In a communication from McLeod to Henry H. Sibley, dated May 14, 1850, and printed in the *Saint Paul Pioneer Press* for February 18, 1894, a further account of this trip from the Red River settlement is given. In the main it adds little to the diary, being based thereon, but it does give the intended destination of Parys and Hayes. McLeod says that they were

3d April (Monday) This day poor P. was consigned to his last abode — the silent & solitary tomb. It is a source of consolation to me amid my troubles, that I have been enabled to perform this last duty to a friend with all due respect. Would that I could say the same of Mr Hayes. I have however left directions with all the Indians near this post to search for his bones and inter them. They are about to depart on their spring hunts and will in all probabillity find his remains. *I can do no more*

5 Apl. (Wednesday) Left Lac Travers at 10 o'clock

Came 20 miles through a hilly prarie.

Encamped at 3 p'm

6 Apl (Thursday) Came 40 miles today. Encamped at Pomme de Terre river.

7 April 1837. (Friday) Cold & stormy, had some difficulty in getting across Pomme de Terre river. Made the horses swim, got our baggage and the cart across on some pieces of jammed ice. Arrived at lac qui parle at 2 p.m. Well received by Mr Reinville who has a trading post for the Indians here [75]

8 April (Saturday) As the weather appeared unsettled prevailed on by Mr R to remain with him till monday.

Today visited a Mr Williamson a missionary sent into this country two years ago by the American board of Foreign Mis-

bound for England. This version differs from that of Dickson for the latter wrote that Hayes wished to enter the Texan army. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10: 180, 181.

[75] Joseph Renville — variously spelled Reinville, Rainville, et cetera — was one of the most picturesque characters in Minnesota history. He was born near the site of St. Paul about the year 1779. His father was a French-Canadian trader and his mother a native woman. He was educated in Canada and then returned to his people. In the War of 1812 he aided Colonel Robert Dickson in his operations against the Americans. He was one of the founders of the Columbia Fur Company and when that company was absorbed by the American Fur Company Renville established himself at Lac qui Parle, where he remained till his death in 1846. He was interpreter for Pike in 1805 and 1806 and for Long in 1823. A letter from Alexander G. Huggins written from the mission house at Lac qui Parle on January 18, 1838, describes Renville's services in translating the Bible into Sioux: "Dr. W[illiamson] reads a verse in the french then Mr R. speaks it in Sioux and the Dr. Mr Riggs & Mr Pond all write it down then the Dr reads another verse."

sions, for the conversion of the Dacota Indians of this place Mr W's family resides with him. he has also two assistants*

*[*Note.*] A young lady, his wife's sister — and a young *man* — who attempted to *convert* me[76]

in his arduous undertaking. Mr W. can now speak a good deal of the Dacota language and I believe has made some translations from the bible.

9th April Sunday Went to hear Mr W preach — he also read a chapter from the Testament in Dacota and a young man present, another in french. A number of the psalms of David were sung in Dacota by half breeds and Indians. The audience consisted of half breeds, Indians, Canadians, and a few Whites.

10 April (Monday) Left Lac qui parle at 9 o'clock Came 30 miles. Encamped at 5 p'm at river L'eau de vie[77]

11 April (Tuesday) Came 35 miles, Encamped at 6 p.m near the St Peters river. Crossed today, Castor & Petite roche rivers.[78] Saw a great number of flocks of wild geese and swans.

12 April (Wednesday) Came 30 miles Encamped at 6 p.m. in a small grove of oaks.

13 April 1837. (Thursday) Came 30 miles. Arrived at 3 p.m at the Monté de Sioux at the trading house of Mr Provencalle.[79]

[76] Miss Sarah Poage, later the wife of Gideon H. Pond, accompanied Dr. Thomas Smith Williamson and his wife to his mission post at Lac qui Parle in 1835. The young man who attempted to convert McLeod was Pond. For further remarks about this attempt, see McLeod's entry for April 22, 1837, and *post*, n. 83.

[77] Hawk Creek, which joins the Minnesota River almost opposite the mouth of the Yellow Medicine River, was called *Chataba*, "that hatches sparrow-hawks," by the Indians, and *L'eau de vie* by the *voyageurs*. Another French name for the same stream was *Epervier*, meaning "sparrow-hawk." Keating, *Narrative*, 1: 355, 356.

[78] "Little Rock River" is a direct translation of the French designation, *Petite Roche*. "Beaver Creek" is a translation from the French word, *Castor*.

[79] Louis Provençalle kept a trading post at Traverse des Sioux for many years. Among the Taliaferro Papers are lists of Indian goods and traders for 1825, which show that he was there in that year. "Monté de Sioux" is a variation of the place name. It is used in the headings of some of Louis Provençalle's letters. Sibley Papers, August 10, 1840.

14 Apl. (Friday) Embarked at sun raise in a Canoe with Indians & squaws who are going down to where the S[t] Peters joins the Mississippi at Fort Snelling.

Have for company 10 Indians and squaws in three Canoes. These people have in one of their Canoes the bodies of two of their deceased relatives which they intend carraying to a lake near the Missisippi more than 100 miles from this

In many instances these people bring the bodies of their friends much farther when it is the wish of the dying person to be deposited in a particular place.

At 3 p.m obliged to encamp in consequence of rain coming on — here I found the benifit of a good skin lodge which was put up by the females in a short time, and we all got under it round a snug fire cooked our victuals, and felt exceedingly comfortable.

15[th] Apl. (Saturday) Morning rainy, did not leave encampment till 11 o'clock. 3 p.m passed petite rapid, and arrived at the trading house of M[r] Ferribow where we stopped a few moments. [80]

16[th] Apl (Sunday) 3. p.m. at long last have arrived at Fort Snelling S[t] Peters, having escaped a variety of dangers, and endured great fatigue and privations in the Sioux Country.

[3[d] May Today the guide P Buottineau who came from the Colony of Red river, with me, left this place to return. gave him my letters dated 20 Apl. for M[r] Christie & M[r] Logan] [81]

Mem[o]

To day (20 Apl. 37) wrote to Alex[r] Christie Esq[r] Hon. Hudson's Bay C[o] giving him the particulars of my unfortunate and melancholy journey from Red River Wrote also, to M[r]

[80] Jean Baptiste Faribault's trading post was at the Little Rapids of the Minnesota River. Like so many of the early traders, he was born in Canada. As early as 1796 he was in the fur-trade business in the Northwest, and about 1806 he settled at Mendota. He was a man of much influence among Indians and half-breeds, to whom he endeavored to teach the rudiments of agriculture. Faribault County is named in his honor. William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1:437–445 (St. Paul, 1921).

[81] The passage enclosed in brackets is crossed out in the original.

Logan & Mr Millian of Red River. (3d May sent them by P Bortineau the guide) [82]

22d Apl, Wrote to J[oseph] R. B[rown] Lake Travers — requesting him to inform me of the result of the Indians search for the remains of my unfortunate friend Mr Hayes.

Wrote to Mr Reinville Lac qui Parle

Wrote to a Mr G[ideon] H. P[on]d a missionary assistant at "Lac qui Parle["] in reply to a curious letter from him placed in my hands on the day of my departure from that place.

This letter alluded to the death of my companions, in the prarie, and in the hypocritical cant of the day the writer calls upon me to remember *God's mercies* &c. &c. &c. [83]

1837. I am the most unfortunate of beings. For the past months nothing but accident has attended my steps. Yesterday (4 May) while out shooting with a friend (Lieut. McClure U.S.A) my gun accidently went off, and lodged the contents (a charge of buck shot,) in the right shoulder of poor McClure, who immediatly fell. [84] I was not more than 3 yards from him at the time and thought that he was shot dead. The agony of that moment I cannot describe. an instant afterwards I took him up in my arms, and my eye caught the wounded shoulder — when I was rejoiced to find that it did not appear dangerous. We had to walk nearly 3 miles to reach the fort. The wound

[82] The reply of Alexander Christie, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at the Red River settlement, is among the McLeod Papers under date of October 16, 1837. For another reference to Millian, see *ante*, p. 400.

[83] McLeod Papers, April 10, 1837. As McLeod states, the letter calls on him to see an evidence of God's mercies in his fortunate escape from recent dangers. Evidently McLeod felt that the death of two friends and his own privations were not exactly to be termed "mercies," for he has indorsed the letter on the back, "Kept as a curiosity."

[84] Lieutenant James McClure was graduated from West Point in 1833 and came to Fort Snelling shortly thereafter. According to his half-breed daughter, Nancy, he loaned money to McLeod. As McClure was transferred to a post in Florida in the fall of 1837 and died the following spring, McLeod paid his debt by giving clothing and contributing in other ways to the support of the little Nancy. "The Story of Nancy McClure," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 6:439, 441.

upon examination, did not appear bad the greater part of the shot having passed over the shoulder, only grazing it.

The Dr says there is no danger of the arm which is great consolation to me though the innocent cause of the poor young gentleman's sufferings.

Saint Peters May 29. /37 Saw Frenier a half breed Sioux from Lake Travers who informed me that the band of Indians who hunted this spring, not far from the scene of our disaster on the 17 March, had been unsuccessful in their search for the remains of Mr Hayes.[85] There cannot now be any hope of his remains being ever heard of — at least by me as I shall leave this place in a few days hence.

Saint Peters June 17. Returned from Saint Louis Mo this day having performed the journey from this place to Saint Louis and back again 1800 miles in fifteen days including two days that I remained at St Louis one day at Galena and one day at prarie du Chien.

On both sides of the Mississippi from prarie du Chien downward to Saint Louis are villages almost innumerable — dignified by the speculators who first planned and laid them out by the high sounding titles of Cities and Towns. In no part of the world is less taste shown in naming their Towns than in the valley of Mississipi. For instance between this and St Louis, we have a "Tully" — a "Hannibal" — a "Carthage" a post "Byron" a "Marion City" and a hundred other far fetched names very inappropriate to the localities of the "Cities" of the West.

Then, among the host of St Boats that I saw there was a "Monarch" a "Sultan["] a "Sultana" — names not at all in character with Republican feelings — besides a Rienzi a Rolla. These will do. I cannot but remark that Bulwer's Rienzi has just appeared in the west and for lack of names they took Rienzi. doubtless the next boat built by the same man will be called The "Tribune". But "What's in a name"

[85]Antoine D. Frenier, or Frenière, or Fresniere, is perhaps the half-breed to whom reference is made. See Stephen R. Riggs in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 3:41 n. Many half-breeds of the name of Frenier lived in the Minnesota River and Lake Traverse regions, however, and one cannot be sure which member of the family is meant in this case.

Wrote at St Louis to J[ames] D[ickson] and W[illiam] N[ewhouse] June 9th [86]

Wrote to W C[am] in Augt.

10th Oct. Recd a letter from Wm Newhouse Wm Cam & Thos Magrane of Montreal, and one from J McL[eod] of l'orignal [87]

30 Sept wrote to J Walton — 10 Oct to Wm Newhouse T Magrane & J McL[eod].

July 1 Mon 1838. Went to Saint Louis 2d trip and returned in company with B[enjamin] F. B[aker] valeir [*?*] [88]

Mem. Went to Saint Louis in Winter of 1839. Left St Peters 3d Jany. Return'd in April following.

[86] This appears to be McLeod's last reference to Dickson. Since the publication of the writer's article on Dickson in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* more light has been shed on Dickson and his fate by the discovery of the Ely Diaries and Papers. For Ely's contemporary record of a talk with the "general" at Fond du Lac, see *ante*, n. 39. Years later Ely wrote to Edward D. Neill from Santa Rosa, California, giving the entry in his diary which relates to the expedition and adding:

Our conversation brought out the following points — that Dixon (and also the Pole) had been engaged in the Texan Army . . . That the idea of being called to fill some important position in the Affairs of the World, had possessed him — that the star of fate was guiding him (unauthorized by U.S.) in this bold stroke (a purely fillibustering Expedition.). He proceeded to Montreal, where he recruited his small force of young men who would constitute the officers in the army he expected to raise. With a very meagre supply of arms, and small resources, they started for the Red River Colony, calculating to recruit (a force of) Half Breeds — hunt their way across the buffalo plains — & thus (suddenly) and from an unexpected direction, to fall on the doomed city (whh I concluded to be Santa Fee), and from its pillage, to find himself abundantly supplied with gold for future wants. . . . I afterwards learned through Mr Aitkins . . . That Dixon wandered off among the Indian tribes.

No date is to be found on this draft of the letter, which is among the Ely Papers, but a reference to July 1, 1873, places it later than that time. Mr. William Bottineau says that his father spoke of Dickson as an Englishman.

[87] J. McLeod probably was Martin's father.

[88] Shortly after his arrival at Fort Snelling, McLeod entered the employ of Benjamin F. Baker, a prominent fur-trader. A license to trade at Traverse des Sioux was granted on October 5, 1842, to Joseph Montrieul, who was authorized to take Martin McLeod and Baptiste Yea with him. The letter of the law granting licenses only to American citizens was thus adhered to. Sibley Papers.

M[ary] E. O[rtley] 3d Decr 1838.[89]
———left 3d Jany. 1839.
retd in April /39 remd till 1st July — retd in Oct. — till — 22d July Say /15 July /*1840*
Went to Saint Louis (4th trip) on the 22d July. Returnd to St P. 2d Sept. *1840.*
15 July!! Went to Lake Superior in July 1839. Remain'd at La Pointe all the summer & Autumn. Returnd in Oct about the 12th
"B[enjamin] F. B[aker]" died at St Louis on the 2d Nov. *1839.* of *Consumption*
A[ngus] M. A[nderson] died at the same place very suddenly after a short illness in June 1840.[90]

Nov. 1840. "Began at Traverse de Sioux St Peters river"
There is no life more dull & monotonous than that pass'd by the 'Indian traders' during the winter season. Altho' I have now been since June 1837 connected one way or other with the fur trade in this Country — I have not yet passed *a winter;* at what is call'd the wintering gound or *winter post.* This is my first trial of that kind, & I have taken into my head to keep a daily journal of "events" (save the mark!) as a Memento for future observation.
Nov. 1840. Started from St Peters in a Birch Canoe with three men on the 24th Oct. last — distance from this place by water 150 miles — 10 days getting here — had much difficulty — The season being far advanc'd — Weather cold for the first four days. Afterwards very fine — part of the Indian Summer — Water very low.
Reached this place on the 2d Nov. from that time until the 15th busy getting up our winter Cabin &c. Weather unusually mild & delightful.
Took possession of our Cabin on the 13th Quarters comfortable enough, much more so than is usual in such cases.
So here I am "situated" on the S.E. bank of the St Peters in a Cabin 15 by 20 with one man; an Interpreter & his squaw b——h of a wife & 2 d——d noisy, rude children — besides the

[89] See *post,* p. 432, n. 3.
[90] Anderson was a well-known fur-trader of the time.

annoyance of "hosts" of the Salvages (as Dufold Dalgetty says) and so I must remain until the last of April — a pleasant *prospect* God wot; n'importe, I have a few books, a dog & a gun. — some patience — and *so, and so* I suppose I must be resign'd.

Nov. 20. Byron is my favourite of all the English poets. Altho I have read them all — that is all of the "immortals" there is not one, not even Shakespeare to whom I can recur, over, & over again so frequently as Byron.

I have been reading his letters &c for the past few days & who can read them without regretting that he did not leave some prose work worthy of his fame.

Read "Parasina" The ["]Giaour" The "Corsair" The 'Bride of Abydos' for the one hundreth *time* at least.

To day 20 Nov. first snow fell. Weather mild — but every appearance of plenty of snow and winter — fast approaching.

"There was a severe storm (with snow) early in Oct. last when I was up the S^{t} Croix river 200 miles N. E. from this.

Nov. 21. In house all day. Snowing. Read the book of Esther, and looked into Lockharts' Life of "Walter Scott["] a most excellent and delightful work. Read it when it first came out, but find it *new again.*

Four days ago rec^{d} Newspapers from my friend F[ranklin] S[teele] and a letter.[91] All very welcome.

Sunday 22^{d} Remained in house all day. Read Byron, and a few chapters in the Bible. There is no book that I have read so often as I did the Bible in my early days but for the past six or seven years have scarsely opened the *Book* and with shame I confess that at this present time I have neither bible nor Testament of my own, but as there is one belonging to my man in the house I feel that it will give me great pleasure to read it frequently, as besides the early associations it brings to my recollection — the historical part is highly instructive and interesting.

[91] Franklin Steele, a prominent Minnesota pioneer who became sutler at Fort Snelling in 1838, was also much interested in the development of water power at the Falls of St. Anthony. Steele County, Minnesota, is named for him. For a brief biographical sketch of Steele, see Daniel Stanchfield, "History of Pioneer Lumbering on the Upper Mississippi and Its Tributaries" in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 9: 354–356.

Monday 23d Reading Lockharts life of Sir Walter Scott. Strolled in the woods. Saw two Indians in the evening one of whom gave us some Venison.

Tuesday 24th Intended to visit old Le. B[lanc] who is unwell,[92] but feel some what so myself. Want of exercise for the past week. Sedentary habits would soon kill me. Must fast, 'Tis a "sovereign remedy" in my case. Read 1st Vol. of the — "Monastery".

Wednesday 25th Weather dull and cloudy appearance of snow. Reading concluded 2d vol *Monastery*

Thursday 26. Weather mild. *In Cabin* all *day*. Rd "Abbott"

Friday 27th Delightful day. Crossed the river to visit old Le B. Sat up until past 1 o.c. this morning (28th) reading the "Pilot."

Saturday 28th Concluded the "Pilot" — as a whole it is an interesting and stirring tale, but some of the characters are made to act very unnatural parts. Burroughcliffe and Manuel act exceedingly silly in more than one of the scenes.

Dillon is a luke warm sort of a rascal — and none of the other characters are more than common people of every day life (with exception of long Tom Coffin who is the only original) made to perform feats worthy of the "Arabian nights"

The Pilot is of course *Paul Jones* whose proper name was John Paul.

Sunday 29th Weather cold, in house all day. Read Bible, and looked into "Locke on the human understanding ["]

Monday 30th Exceedingly cold. Wind from the west Reading "Oliver Twist" for the 2d time.

Last night finished reading "The Gentleman in Black" alais the Devil a strange thing in 1 vol, — Who is the author

By the bye rather a *queer* work to read on a Sunday So some folks would say that I wot of, so it is — "There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous"

From grave to gay
From lively to severe

[92] This refers to Provençalle, who was known by the traders and Indians as Le Blanc. See *ante*, n. 79.

December 1840.

Tuesday 1st Hail December — with thy gloomy, severe and frosty looks. This day 4 years ago, and precisely such weather, I was en route to red lake where I arrived early in the day fatigued and hungry enough — how time flies. "Tempus fugit" a School boy's phrase — Alas! too soon forgot by us all.

"*Redde*" Byron's letters.

Wednesday 2d

Thursday 3. *Read Lalla Rookh*

Friday 4. Weather cold and gloomy. Feel so myself. Read, "Marino Faliero"

Saturday 5th

Sunday 6. Pleasant & mild.

Monday 7. Went to an Indian encampment of 7 lodges near Prairie la flech 8 miles distant and retd at 3 p.m [93]

Weather mild. Snowing in the evening.

8th Tuesday

Wednesday 9. Went to Le B[lanc]'s Read — Byron viz Deform'd Transform'd & Werner.

Thursday 10. Fine weather. Read Locke on the understanding

Friday — 11. Still pleasant and warm weather for the season — Unusually so.

Saturday 12th Read "Don Juan" News from St Peters last night Very fine day. Snow all melting away. last night went to Le B[lanc]'s.

Sunday 13 Went to Le B's with D[avid] F[aribault] [94]

Monday 14. Unwell. News from St P.'s

[93] Nicollet's map, accompanying his *Report* (serial 380), shows the Prairie la Flèche River, which appears to be the stream now known as Spring Creek in Le Sueur County. In an undated manuscript letter to the editor of a newspaper, presumably the *Minnesota Chronicle*, McLeod describes the prairie as follows: "Over an immense forest of many miles in extent the eye ranges and embraces with distinctness the distant outline of the beautiful Prairie Lafleche 30 miles in circumferance surrounded with timber." McLeod Papers.

[94] David Faribault, son of Jean Baptiste Faribault, was a fur-trader. He married Nancy McClure, half-breed daughter of the young officer whom McLeod shot accidentally at Fort Snelling. See *ante*, n. 84.

Tuesday 15th Read Childe Harold's Pilgrimage
Wednesday 16. Cold & blowing great change in the weather since yesterday.
Thursday 17. Very cold. Read Byron & took a *walk*.
Friday 18. *Cold. Cold* In search of a horse stolen by an Indian found him hid in some high grass 3 miles from house. Read "Curiousities of literature"
Sat 19 Went to Le B[lanc]'s x x x
Sunday 20. Read Bible &c x x
Monday 21.
Tuesday 22. } x x x x x x x
Wednesday 23
Thursday 24. Sent J[oseph] B[ourcier] to St Peters this morning.[95] Went to Le B's
Friday 25. Christmas — and a dull one.
Saturday 26.
Sunday 27. Monday 28. Tuesday 29 Wednesday 30.
Nearly the whole month of Decr unusually mild and pleasant for this climate

January 1841	Remarks &c. &c.
1. Friday. Cold & Blowing	In house for the most part reading, the only past time I have at present.
2. Sat. Intensly cold.	
3. Sundy. Cold but pleasant	
4 Monday Mild & clear	
5. Tuesday. *Pleasant*	
6. Wednesday Pleasant.	Went to see Indian dance.
7. Thursday Mild & Cloudy.	In house reading &c &c.
8. Friday Cloudy with appr of snow	
9 Sat. Cloudy and warm	

10 Sundy. Mild. Started for Lac qui Parle on horse back, *at 11 a.m.*

[95] One cannot be certain to whom these initials refer, but as Joseph Bourcier is known to have been sent by Sibley from St. Peter's to Traverse des Sioux in June, 1840, in July, 1841, and again in October of the same year, it seems probable that McLeod employed him on return trips to St. Peter's. American Fur Company ledger for St. Peter's, 1840–43, vol. 2, p. 60, in Sibley Papers.

11 Monday. Severly cold. Reached La. Fr^s^ [*Laframboise's*] at Petite Roche. half frozen.[96]

12 Tuesday. Cold increasing Remaned all day at La. F^s^

13 Wednesday. Colder still. Lynx encampment, travelled 20 ms.

14 Thursday. Colder and colder Bottom Encamp^t^.

15 Friday do do Rushes Encamp^t^ Snow storm

16 Saturday do do Encamp^t^ on a hill

17 Sunday *Cold. Cold. Cold.* 28° below zero. Reach^d^ Lac qui P.

We arrived at lac qui P. at 3 p m having travelled from day light in the open plains on horse back. D^r^ W[illiamson] of the mission inform'd us that it was the coldest weather they had exp^d^ for 6 yr^s^ and all the people were surprised at our escape, Between running and riding we managed to do so, and that was all.

January 1841	Remarks
18 Monday	At Lac qui Parle Took up our lodgings in an Indian lodge prepared for us by the Indians who have been expecting us for some time Very kindly rec^d^ by the people of the mission and M^r^ R[enville?]
19 Tuesday	
20 Wednesday	
21 Thursday	Indians, civil, but very troublesome with their *feasts* and dances. Asked to partake of their *feasts*. which is not always agreeable as *dog meat* is the *favourite dish.* Went to hear M^r^ R[iggs] preach in Sioux.[97] Indians very orderly indeed,
22 Friday.	
23 Saturday.	
24 Sunday.	

[96] Joseph Laframboise, who was located at Little Rock River at this time, was one of the large group of picturesque, well-educated, half-breed traders whose figures lend so much color to early Minnesota history. A vivid impression of his innate courtesy and polish can be obtained from the account of the few days spent at his cabin at the base of the Coteau des Prairies in George Catlin's *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians,* 2: 176 (London, 1842).

[97] A sketch of the life of Stephen R. Riggs, a missionary to the Sioux, is given in Folwell, *Minnesota,* 1: 200.

25 Monday Blowing from S.W. but not cold, started and encamped at Chippaw[a] river

26 Tuesday. Pleasant. Crossed a plain of 30 miles & encamp^{t} at eau de vie.

27. Wednesday. No snow on the pla[i]ns obliged to take the S^{t} P[eter's] river near Rushes Encampt^{d}.

28. Thursday. Travelling on the S^{t} P. river Encamp^{d} near Bottom encamp^{t}

29. Friday do do "
near Lynx Encamt.

30 Saturday Reached Laframboise's at Petite roche. Pleasant day.

31 Sunday. Started at P. R early on h[orse] b[ack] and reached T[raverse] de[s] S[ioux] *50 miles*

On our journey to lac qui P[arle] we suffered severly — all the party 9 persons were more or less frozen. D[avid] F[aribault] and myself were obliged to dismount from our horses every mile or two to run and thereby keep up a circulation, and although we had Buffalo robes wrapped round us still we could not keep our bodies warm. As for *my* hands it was with great exertion I saved them. On our faces we had *Buffalo robe masks,* and yet got our noses ears and cheeks frozen.

Alman[ac] Feby. 1841

1 Mond^{y}. *Very unwell — mild*
2 Tuesday. Pleasant weather
3 Wed^{y}. do do
4 Thursd^{y}. do D[uncan] C[ampbell] w[en]^{t} to S^{t} P[eter']^{s} [98]
5 Friday Cold. *moon eclipsed*
6 Saturd^{y} Clear and cold.
7 Sunday very cold. *wind S.W.*
8 Mondy. Started for S^{t} P[eter's] *on h[orse] b[ack]* } *80 mis*
9 Tuesday Reach^{d} S^{t} P^{s} at 3 p.m }

[98] Duncan Campbell, brother of Scott Campbell, United States interpreter at St. Peter's for many years, came to what is now Minnesota in 1834 as one of Henry H. Sibley's assistants. Later he worked under McLeod for several years.

10 Wedy. at St Ps *very cold*
11 Thurdy Left St P. at 11. a.m
12 Friday very cold. Encamped at *Batture aux F[ièvres]* [99]
13 Saturday reachd T[raverse] de[s] S[ioux] at 4 p.m.
14 Sunday Snowing and blowing.
15 Mondy In house. *cold*
16 Tuesday Fine weather
17. Wedy. Warm and pleasant
18 Thursday D[uncan] C[ampbell] *retd*
19. Fridy
20. Sat.
21. Sundy.
22 Mondy.
23 Tuesday.
} warm weather Snow all gone & looks like spring Delightful weather *Some Ducks Killed.*
24 Wednesdy. *Change, cold*
25 Thursday. Blowing from S.W.
26 Friday Cold
27 Saturday Snow in the night
28 Sundy. Snow'd during the night

To the kindness of my friend Mons J[oseph] L[aframboise] I am indebted for the complete history of England in 9 vols. which is quite a feast in this dull spot and will enable me to pass the rest of my time here until 1st May pleasantly and rationally.

[February has been for the most a very pleasant month][1]

March 1841.

Mondy. 1. Blowing from S.W but not cold.
Tuesday 2. Clear and pleasant
Wednesday 3. Warm and delightful
Thursday 4. Mild & pleasant
Friday 5. do do
Saturday 6. Cloudy & warm
Sunday 7. Very warm & pleasant.

[99] This stream is shown entering the Minnesota River from the south just above the Little Rapids on the map which accompanies Nicollet's *Report* (serial 380). Keating, in his *Narrative*, 1:334, says it was called Fever Sandbar by the white men. Its present name is Sand Creek.

[1] This sentence has been crossed out in the original.

Monday 8. Fine —
Tuesday 9. Very pleasant & warm
Wednesday 10. Cloudy. but *mild*
Thursday 11. D[uncan] C[ampbell] left warm
Friday 12. Very warm
Satd^{y} 13. Cloud^{y}
Sundy 14. do do (Snowed)
Mond^{y} 15. Fine. Snow all gone J[oseph] B[ourcier][2] to J[*?*] L[aframboise *?*]
Tuesday 16. Pleasant
Wedn^{y}. 17, Wind from *H. on fire* Ducks & Geese
Thursday 18. Wind very strong
Friday 19. Wind from West
Sat. 20. Wind W. slightly *cold*
Sund^{y}. 21. Slight Rain
Mond^{y}. 22. Cold & Blowing
Tuesday 23. Fine & pleasant
Wednesd^{y} 24. Warm & pleasant
Thursd^{y} 25. Cloudy.
Friday 26. Clear & warm
Saty. 27. Cloudy.
Sund^{y}. 28 Raining
Mond^{y}. 29. Cold — 8 inches snow
Tuesd^{y} 30. Fine & warm
Wednesd^{y}. 31. Slightly cold but pleasant.

With exception of the last 5 days, March has been the most delightful weather I have seen at this season for the past 4 years. During the whole month until the 28th there was no snow to be seen. At present there is five inches on the ground, but it will not remain for 2 days

April 1841.

Thursday. 1. Pleasant
Friday 2. Pleasant & warm
Sat^{dy} 3. Blowing strongly from S. D[uncan] C[ampbell] left

[2] See *ante*, n. 95.

Sund^{y}. 4. Fine & warm
Mond^{y} 5. Cold & blowing
Tuesd^{y} 6. Snowed about 3 inches
Wednes^{dy}. 7. Clear & pleasant
Thursd^{y} 8. Cloudy.
Frid^{y}. 9. Cloudy but warm
Saty. 10 do do
Sund^{y}. 11. Snowing slightly. *D[uncan] C[ampbell] left*
Mond^{y} 12. Cloud^{y} but mild. D[avid] F[aribault] left.
Tuesd^{y}. 13. Cold & unpleasant (Canoe *arrived*
Wedn^{sdy}. 14. Clear & warm *2*
Thursd^{y} 15. Pleasant PP
Friday 16. Cloudy (Millions of pidgeons)
Saturday 17. Very warm 3
Sunday 18. Warm & pleasant
Monday 19. do do
Tuesday 20. " "
Wednesday 21. " "
Thurd^{y}. 22. " "
Friday 23. Cloudy & unpleasant
Saturd^{y} 24. Cold — blowing from North
Sunday 25. Raining & disagreeable
Monday 26. Cold. Snowed 1/2 in in the *night*
Tuesday 27. " *D[avid] F[aribault] left.*
Wednesday 28. Cloudy. Rained in the night
Thursday 29. Drizzling snow & rain
Friday 30. Very warm & pleasant

The first few days of Apl very pleasant but after the 4th until 13th very *disagreeable cold. Changeable, blowing snowing* &c.

From the 15th weather warm & pleasant. but a few days of slight rain & water unusually low in the S^{t} P[eter's] river.

Last days of April changeable Cold & very disagreeable. *Sic transit* &c

May 1841.

Saturday 1. *Clear but cold, blowing f^{m} North*
Sunday. 2. *Wind cold,* but clear & pleasant
Mond^{y}. 3. *Cloudy.* app^{r} of rain

Tuesday 4. *Slight rain in morning Rained all day*
Wednesday 5. *Cloudy* & unpleasant
Thursday 6. *Clear & warm*
Friday 7. *Warm D[uncan] C[ampbell] 27*
Saturday 8. *Warm & pleasant 28*
Sunday 9. *Very warm* Rain & Thunder *in the evening*
Monday 10. *Windy* & unpleasant *30*
Tuesday 11. Warm D. C. ret[d]
Wednesday 12. do at T[raverse] d[es] S[ioux]
Thursday 13. do left
Friday 14. En route
Saturday 15. *at S[t] Peters*
Sunday 16.
Monday 17.
Tuesday 18.

[*Memoranda found on several pages at the back of the diary*]

Natus[3]

Walter Scott M[c]Leod born at S[t] Peters Iowa Friday 16. April 1841. at 10. a.m.

Baptised Sunday 16[th] May following by the Rev[d] M[r] Gaultier Roman Catholic Priest

[3] McLeod does not refer specifically to his wife at any place in his diary. In view of references in other places, mentioned hereafter in this note, it seems a safe guess that the initials, M. E. O., under date of December 3, 1838 (see *ante*, p. 422), refer to his wife. Possibly the date is that of his marriage. A search through manuscript baptismal records, now in the Roman Catholic Cathedral residence, St. Paul, has brought to light the following data relating to his wife and two of his children:

M'Clode Felix Walter Scott
no. 52

L'an de N. S. 1841 et le 16 Mai, je soussigné prête desservant la paroisse S[t] Pierre certifie avoir baptisé félix Walter Scott fils de Martin M[c]Clode et de Marie Ouinona garçon agé d'un mois a été parrain L. Galtier et marraine Marguérite Quing en foi de ce j'ai signe.
L. Galtier P[tre]

Marie Elizabeth McLeod
[no.] 197

L'an de J. C. 1845 et le 10 Juillet je soussigné déclare avoir conféré le S[t] baptême selon le rite de l'eglise catholique à Marie Elizabeth Macleod

John G McL. Born at St Peters — 19th June 1843 — died 30 July following

Mary E. McL. born at 10 o'c in the morning Monday 15 July 1844, at B[ig] S[tone] L[ake]

Baptisted [*sic*] by Revd Mr Ravaux.

Janet McL Born at Lac qui Parle Friday 14 Jany, 1848 at 6. A.M.

Isabella Born at Oak Grove Saturday 22 May 1851.

N[atus][4] 30 August 1813 — City of M[ontrea]l*

*[*Note*] Lochiel, Longuiel &c &c

L'Orignal Decr 1829 — left for

VK Hunkerbury [*?*].

Pt N. [*Portneuf*] year of 1832 & pt of 33.

Started for Ml March 1833.

Left Ml June 17. 1836

née le 19 Juin 1844 du mariage de Mr Macleod (commerçant parmi les Sioux) et, de Marie Aclet. parrain Mr J. Rubinet marra[i]ne Mme Louise Queen née Phenly

A Ravoux

For those who rely implicitly on family Bibles and baptismal records for biographical data, it is disconcerting to find Mary's birthday given as June 19 in the record of baptism and as July 15 in McLeod's diary. It is impossible to state who made the error, but, obviously, the birthdays of John and Mary, as to the day of the month, were confused in one of the entries.

In lists of beneficiaries under the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, 1851, appear the entries, "Mrs. Mary Ortley McLeod and four children, twelve hundred and fifty dollars"; "Geo. F. Ortley, (Lac-qui-parle,) two hundred and fifty dollars"; and "Martin McLeod, trustee for M. E. Ortley, children, and others." From this evidence it would seem more than likely that Mrs. McLeod was a half-breed daughter of George F. Ortley of Lac qui Parle, her husband's trading post for many years, and that her maiden name was Mary E. Ortley. Similarity in pronunciation may account for Father Ravoux's spelling in the baptismal record. McLeod's testimony in the same document gives considerable biographical data regarding himself and the manner in which he carried on trade with the Indians. "Report of the Commissioners Appointed . . . to Investigate the Official Conduct of Alexander H. Ramsey . . . with the Testimony taken in the Case," in 33 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 61, p. 11, 12, 18, 226–235 (serial 699).

[4] The entries now become autobiographical.

Year of 1836 & pt 37 en route for 11 ms in the Northwest.
Ap[l] 16, 1837 reach[d] S[t] Peters
went to S[t] Louis in May & ret[d].
At S[t] Peters 37 & 38. went to S[t] Louis in Jan[y] /38 & summer of 1839.
Winter of 1839 on S[t] Croix
Jan[y] Feby March & Apl 1838 travelling in Missouri, Illinois, Iowa & Wisconsin.
T[raverse] d[es] S[ioux] 1840–41, 42–43 — 3 winters [5]
The summers passed at S[t] Peters.
July 1843 Started for B[ig] S[tone] L[ake]
Winter of 1843–4 at B. S. L and Summer of 1844.
1844–5 also at B. S. L. Summer of 1845 S[t] Peters ret[d] in Sept. 1845. [184]6 until June at B. S. L.
Winter of 1846–7 Commenced trading post at Lac qui Parle. Summer following in part at Mendota.
1847, 8, 9, 50 Lac qui P & Mendota. Sept and Oct 1849— 60 days at S[t] Paul attending Legislature.
Winter 1849 & 50. Family at Oak Grove
1850, & 1851. Trading at Lac qui P.
Passed winter at S[t] Paul myself — 30 days attending Legislature.
Summer of 1851, at Mendota, Oak Grove, Traverse des Sioux & Lac qui Parle.

10[th] Dec[r] 1828. Went to W C[am] rem[d] 2 y[rs]
1831, at L. O[riginal] with K P H
1832 at N, for J. N. M
From 1[st] March /33 to 17 July — (Montreal) left Montreal 17 July 1836
Natus 30 Aug[t] 1813.
Left M[ontreal] 17 July 1836. Reached R[ed] R[iver] S[ettlement] 24 Dec[r] 1836. Left R. R. S. 29 Feby. 1837.

[5] Six ledgers kept by Martin McLeod in his business as fur-trader have been preserved with his other papers. They cover the period 1840 to 1855 and are, in general, the accounts at the Traverse des Sioux, Lac qui Parle, and Big Stone Lake posts. In one of them are also included copies of a few personal letters by McLeod, bits of poetry, and articles written by him about the Indian country.

Reached S[t] Peters 16 April 1837. B[enjamin] F. B[aker] from June 1837 until June 1839. 2 y[rs] In July 1839 went to Lake Superior. Ret[d] in Oct. Winter of 1839 & 40 at Saint Croix. Summer following at Saint Louis and Saint Peters.

Winter of 1840–41, at T[raverse] de[s] Sioux Saint Peters river.

Mem[o] July 1836.

		£
Bradbury		
Jo[s] Boulanget	about	15.
J[no] Orr	do	5
Tho[s] Mussen	do	3.
Jo[s] M[c]Kay (G) [*?*]	do	2.
Wright — (S)	do 1 or	2
L. Privat	do	1.5
P. Swords	do	1.5
Tait (Livery Stable)	about	1.5
Sharp do	do	.10
		£31.5
W. C[am]who has in charge a Deed of Property		10
Armour & Ramsay		3.10
J. P. Ashton *Estate*		4.10
J Walton		4.
		53.5

Please pay to the order of Martin M[c]Leod Seventy three dollars for value rec[d] & charge the am[t] to my a/c

Traverse des Sioux May 1841

[D. Farribault] [6]

Dft on Col. M[c]Comb	$100	*Texas* [7]
do on S[t] Louis	140	
	240	

These dr[a]fts, were not paid

[6] This name is crossed out in the original.

[7] The text of this draft, which is signed by Dickson and addressed "To Col. Macomb Texian Army," is published in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10: 181.

5 Shirts
3 prs Stockings
2 pr Gloves
2 Hkfs
15 p[iece]s [8]

16 July
31 Aut
30 Sept
31 Oct
30 Nov
31
31
28
31
259
11
270

Spanish Grammar
Spanish Dictionary
Manly Exercises
Gazetteer
Dressing Case
Carpet Bag Mr McLaughlin

Left 29th July 1836 — at Wm Smith's Esqr Waterloo, Bertie, U[pper] C[anada] a Trunk containing — Clothes $100 Private Papers — Memos &c.

Left in charge of Mr Faribanks Red lake 3d Decr 1836 — a leather travelling Trunk Containing —

a s[u]p[er] Fine Frock Coat	2 pr Pants (Fine)
a Dbl Bbl Rifle	A Riding Belt
a pr Brass Pistols & Flask	2 books
2 Port Folios	a lot of Powder and shot
1 Dressing Case	Percussions
a quantity of linen	A gold Seal
Socks, Gloves &c	&c &c &c
2 Fine vests,	[illegible] value $120 [9]

[8] This list is crossed out in the original.
[9] The word "Received" is written across this list in the diary.

Spanish	English
Como se llamo este lugar?	How do they call this place?
este Ciudad	This City?
este Rio	This River?
esti Montãnos	These mountains?
Quantos liguas hay de aqui al aldia lo mais proximo?	How many leagues are there to the nearest village?
Una ligua, Una ligua y media dos liguas, Tres liguas, quatro liguas, Cinco liguas, Seis liguas Siete liguas, Ocho liguas, Nueve liguas, diez liguas.	One league, One league & a half Two leagues Three leagues, four leagues 5 leagues 6 leagues 7 leagues 8——9 ——10——
Hay mucha gente alla?	Are there many inhabitants there?
Hay algunos Soldados alla?	Are there some Soldiers there?
Si Senor. Yes Sir, Quantos hay?	How many are there.
Hay maize alla?	Is there corn there?
Hay trigo? Hay polvere?	Is there wheat? Is there Powder?
Hay muchos blancos alla?	Are there many whites there?
Son todos Indios del pais?	Are they all Indians of the Country?
Que dicen la gente de nosotros?	What say the people of us?
A donde puidemos hallar caballos	Where can we find horses?
mulos	with mules, trigo, with wheat.
Maiz	with maize, Carne, with beef.
No Sè Senor. I do not know Sir.	Quien Sabe. God knows, or, who knows.
Vayas vos[?] con dios. God be with you. Amigo, Friend	Buena dias. Good day. Buenos Noches, Good night [10]

[10] This entire passage has been crossed out in the original. The character of the exercise tends to corroborate Dickson's statement that his purpose was to take Santa Fé. By so much it weakens the theory held by some officials of the Hudson's Bay Company that his object was to injure the Red River settlement. All the words and expressions would have a very practical use were McLeod to arrive in the environs of Santa

The *life of man.*

How vain our hopes, how futile our aspirations. What is the life of man! 'Tis but the shadow of an existence, yet in that shadow of a shade how much is comprised. How few there are who can look back to the bright days of their youth — the sunshine of life — and feel that their dreams of renown & splendor or the more virtuous desire of domestic happiness approach realization. All life is ideal, and our very existence is but a dream.

But a few brief years have passed since I entered the portals of manhood yet I have tasted frequently of the bitter fruit of this transient pilgrimage. I have been tossed, like a weed, upon the waves of doubt & uncertainty and have seen the friends of my youth wrecked on the shores of disappointment. I have seen promises — the most solemn — broken; friendships the warmest — buried in the cold grave of oblivion or forgetfulness and ties "dearer than these, than all" forever crushed, and have felt the misery that follows them, and yet I am, but upon, the verge of "life's beginning" Novr 11th 1836.

> Still must I on; for I am as a weed,
> Flung from the rock, on ocean's foam to sail
> Where'er the surge may sweep, the tempest's breath prevail.

How sweet is memory, and yet, how bitter are many of our recollections. How apt the above quotation to my present unsettled and uncertain career, yet, singular to say 'tis the remembrance of a happy moment, long since past, that brought this stanza, to my memory. The last time, (and perhaps, forever the last) that I read "Childe Harold" was sitting by the side of E——. These thoughts are childish, yet flow they must They are the only green spots in the desert of my existence.

25. Novr 1836.[11]

Fé. This may be the exercise which helped pass away the time when the party was wind-bound at Sandy River. See *ante,* p. 377.

[11] Like the preceding party, this was written just before McLeod left the comparative hominess of a trading post — on November 11 the Sandy Lake house and on November 25 the Lake Winnibagoshish — and his despondent mood in each instance may have been caused by the anticipation of impending loneliness. See *ante,* p. 385 and 386.

'Twas as a lovely dream of our young sleep,
Before our thoughts had wither'd and grown pale
A dream of star light and of waters deep,
And the far music of the Nightingale,

'Twas as a dream — whose fine and tremulous joys
Have being but in slumber, — which a breath,
A touch of rude reality destroys, —
For life too tender — too intense for death

Oh! who hath felt the moonlight of the mind,
Oh! who hath felt the silence of the soul;
When like the hushed wave in the moveless wind
Still in their depths, the tides of feeling roll

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A Manual of Archive Administration Including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, *Economic and Social History of the World War, British Series*). By HILARY JENKINSON, M.A., F.S.A. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1922. xviii, 243, 7 p.)

With the appearance of this book the English-speaking world ceases to have occasion to blush for its reputation whenever the topic of discussion is scientific treatises on archives. Yet late as is the appearance of an adequate work of this sort in the English language, Americans, like their English brethren, cannot but feel compensation in the knowledge that even the standard continental treatise has now been superseded in point of comprehensiveness by Mr. Jenkinson's scientific volume. Faced with a bulk of war archives which make housing, arrangement, and care impossible on the lines in use for older archives, the editors of the *British Series* of the *Economic and Social History of the World War* realized that this new archive problem must be solved if the most fruitful sources for a history of English participation in the war are to be made accessible to the economist and historian. Only a thorough knowledge of past archival problems and their solutions, however, could form the starting point for considering the new difficulties; so Mr. Jenkinson, very wisely, has devoted fully one-half of his book to a definition of archives and to a discussion of the duties of an archivist, the transmission of archives, and the most approved methods of housing, arranging, indexing, calendaring, and transcribing them. The most unqualified praise can be accorded the efficient manner in which this work has been done. No such confusion of terms as is to be found in the only American work of note on the subject can be detected in this volume. To give effect to his statements, Mr. Jenkinson gives examples from the great British depository of archives, the Public Record Office; and, incidentally, students of English history will find here a very succinct and

convenient outline of the development of legislative, judicial, and administrative departments in England, which is used to illustrate the methods by which certain archives to be found in one department began their existence with another.

Part 3 of the work is devoted to "Modern Archives"; part 4 to "Archive Making." The former considers the principles on which destruction may proceed. The conclusion is reached that no destruction may occur, except in word for word duplicates, once the documents have left the organization whose business files they have constituted. Thus, then, is part 3 linked with part 4, for archives of the present and of the past definitely partake of "archive quality" and so cannot be destroyed, however great the bulk; but documents that are now business files and that, in the course of time, will become archives, may be sorted and diminished in amount before reaching the hands of the archivist. An office conducted along scientific lines would naturally do this anyway if time and adequate labor could be had for the purpose; for the sole aim of keeping such a body of records is "that the Administrator, called upon to take up any piece of business, may not be dependent on his memory, but find a summary of all that has been done on this matter in his files." All documents not serving this end may be discarded. The point stressed, however, is that the office administration *alone* is capable of selecting those documents which no longer serve its purpose. When the documents have been turned over to the archivist, the period of selection is past.

Part 5 deals with "War Archives," toward which the entire discussion has been tending. These may, in a sense, be termed archives of the future, and, as such, reduced in bulk by their respective administrators. Some practical suggestions for accomplishing this result are given, like the destruction of duplicate letters and carbon copies where one copy will serve the purpose. As the first step in disposing of such an enormous bulk of material as these war records, a summary survey and listing of war organizations and their records should be made.

Many useful appendixes occupy the fifty pages preceding the index. Among them may be noted a specimen arrangement of archives; sketches of containers for documents; examples of

rules for an archive repairing department; a "Sketch for a Bibliography of Archive Science"; a conspectus of the divisions of administrations and archives, public and private, in England; and rules for transcribing.

When the United States government shall have come to the realization that it alone of all the great countries of the world has made no adequate provision for the centralization of its archives under scientific archival care and that private enterprise alone is responsible for practically all the printed or typed guides, inventories, calendars, and transcripts that have been made,—then, and then only, can we hope for a scientific treatise on archives, illustrated by American examples, similar to this most excellent British work.

GRACE L. NUTE

Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa, 1848; A History of the Founding of Webster City, Iowa. Narrated by SARAH BREWER-BONEBRIGHT; written by her daughter HARRIET BONEBRIGHT-CLOSZ. (Des Moines, Historical Department of Iowa, 1921. xvii, 307 p. Illustrations.)

It is somewhat unusual for a book of this character to be so well organized and so well written. The narrator is telling the story of her girlhood experiences, its hardships and pleasures, with an attention to detail which is the more remarkable because of the lapse of years. She states frankly that she makes "no claim for absolute accuracy in dates" and thereby disarms a kind of criticism which is frequently made against the writer of reminiscences.

The value of the book lies in its plain, straightforward account of the process of building a new home in the wilderness on the Iowa frontier, just what was being done in Minnesota during the same period. There was the log cabin to be built, food to be secured by rifle or by hook and line, furniture for the home to be provided, and a crop to be put in. One marvels at the amount of labor necessary on the part of every member of the household in order to sustain life, and especially the grinding toil of the women in their efforts to make a home. Life in a one-room partly-floored cabin with flies settling in such swarms upon

the food at the table that one person is kept busy with a "shooer," or blackening the rings of drying pumpkin at night; with clouds of mosquitoes making necessary the constant use of a smudge pot; and with other pests such as mice, vermin, and an occasional pole cat, is pictured for the reader in all its stern reality.

Chapter follows chapter in logical sequence from the account of the migration by oxcart from Indiana through the settlement in the new location, the platting of the town, and the offering of inducements to draw settlers to the community. The five appendixes contain a biographical sketch of Wilson Brewer, father of the narrator; recollections of Major Brassfield's account of the murder by Henry Lott of a part of Inkpaduta's band; and some poems by Mrs. Harriet Bonebright-Closz.

The book is illustrated profusely with drawings of pioneer implements and utensils, apparently sketched from the objects themselves, and thus of great interest to the student of pioneer conditions. The volume is well bound, printed on good paper, and supplied with a table of contents and list of illustrations.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK, JR.

City Charter Making in Minnesota (Bureau for Research in Government of the University of Minnesota, *Publications*, no. 1). By WILLIAM ANDERSON, PH.D., Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Bureau. With a foreword by CEPHAS D. ALLIN. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1922. ix, 198 p.)

The primary purpose of this book is to assemble in compact form "all the information which may be found necessary to the intelligent drafting, adoption, and amendment of home rule charters in Minnesota." The volume is reviewed in these pages because the author devotes an introductory chapter to an historical survey of the "Development of City Government in Minnesota." Not only does this account add to the value of the chapters which follow on the practical problems of present-day charter-making, but it makes a real contribution to Minnesota history. Attention is first directed to the growth of Minnesota cities from 1850 to 1920. The beginnings of local government

in Minnesota are then discussed. The incorporation in 1854 of St. Paul and Stillwater as cities is mentioned. "In 1855 the town of Henderson, the home of the industrious J. R. Brown, received the first town charter to be conferred on any community in Minnesota west of the Mississippi." The demand for town charters increased tremendously in the "boom" period before the panic of 1857. The land speculators who promoted the towns and cities, writes the author, "were interested primarily in enriching themselves from the development of sites for future cities." This business was almost ended by the panic. The problem of rural local government remained and as settlers poured in after 1854 it became serious. "By 1857," writes the author, "the counties had been much reduced in size and increased in number to meet the needs of these people for local government, but the counties were too large, after all, and their organization not adapted for purely local purposes. The people needed a township system, and it was such a system to which most of them, coming from New England, New York, and the Old Northwest, were accustomed." The upshot of the matter was the enactment in 1858 of the "first general laws for establishing a general system of town or township government." The law was "materially changed by the second legislature."

After dealing with these beginnings the author traces the development of city government down to 1921. Considerable attention is given to "the constitution and local government," "special legislation," the general incorporation law of 1870, the general village law of 1875, the home rule amendment of 1896 and 1898, and the home rule enabling acts. The author states that sixty-five out of ninety-two cities in the state have adopted home rule. The rest of the book deals with state control over cities and villages, present government of Minnesota villages and cities, procedure for making and amending home rule charters, and principles and problems of charter-making. Appendix I consists of a "model charter for Minnesota cities."

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

A History of St. Olaf Choir. By EUGENE E. SIMPSON. (Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 188 p. Illustrations.)

The St. Olaf Choir occupies a position in the musical field of the Northwest which can be compared only to that of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra; and its director, Dr. F. Melius Christiansen, has been accorded general recognition as one of the greatest choral conductors in America. The choir consists of students of St. Olaf College, one of the principal institutions of learning maintained by the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Some of them are students in the college's department of music but most of them are not. They all sing for the pure love of singing and are willing to subject themselves to that thorough training and rigid discipline without which choral singing of the highest order cannot be produced. The St. Olaf Choir has frequently been called a human symphony orchestra and its singing has been compared to that of the Vatican Choir.

The development which has brought about this organization is not a long but a very interesting story. It is all told in a very entertaining way in this volume by Mr. Simpson. Although the history in the main is that of the choir it also deals with two institutions which have fostered the choir, St. Olaf College and St. John's Lutheran Church of Northfield. The college was founded as St. Olaf School in 1874 by the Reverend Bernt J. Muus, a pioneer Norwegian clergyman. The school began instruction in two old public school buildings purchased from the city of Northfield. The school also served as a house of worship for the Norwegians of Northfield and vicinity.

No effort will be made in this review to trace the gradual development of the choir and the college. Suffice it to say that this development represents a no less remarkable cultural achievement than the great transformation of the University of Minnesota during the past half century. It is particularly interesting to note that this manifestation of fine musical culture has its original source in that hardy Norse race which has furnished so much of the brawn for the material development of the state.

The volume also contains the story of the life of the director of the choir, told in a most entertaining manner; has an en-

lightening chapter on "Northern Growth and Change in Lutheran Music"; gives an account of the "Genesis of the 1913 Norway Tour"; and tells about the eastern tour of 1920. It concludes with a chapter on "The Choir Training at Home."

This review may have given the impression that the choir and the college have stressed the more spectacular side of their musical efforts. I hasten to assure the reader that modesty is characteristic of the attitude assumed by the St. Olaf College leaders. I may support this assertion by the following quotation from a brief preface by Dr. L. W. Boe, the president of the college:

> St. Olaf College has for many years sought to cultivate the art of music. It has done so, not so much from an artistic standpoint as to find a beautiful and adequate means of expressing the spiritual life of the student body, whose ancestry, almost without exception, comes from the mountains and valleys of Norway. Added to this heritage are the life and experiences of pioneer days in this country, days that now are over.
>
> Thru the Choir especially, an attempt has also been made to bring out the wealth of hymnology and song of the Lutheran Church, discovering in this way to our day the common heritage given to us by ages past.

CARL G. O. HANSEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The additions to the active membership during the six months ending September 30, 1922, numbered 151. The names of these new members, grouped by counties, are as follows:

ANOKA: Roe Chase and J. Clemens Erlander of Anoka.

BECKER: Reverend Anders K. Voss of Detroit.

BELTRAMI: Homer C. Baer of Bemidji.

BLUE EARTH: George J. Miller of Mankato.

BROWN: Jacob Liesenfeld of Comfrey and Louis A. Fritsche of New Ulm.

CARVER: Oswald Rosenwald of Norwood.

CROW WING: Joseph H. Davison and George D. La Bar of Brainerd, and Alfred J. Crone of Deerwood.

DAKOTA: Winslow M. Brackett of Farmington and William E. Scott of South St. Paul.

FARIBAULT: Oliver J. Clark and W. E. C. Ross of Blue Earth.

FILLMORE: George H. Haven of Chatfield.

FREEBORN: Jonas R. Nannestad of Albert Lea.

GOODHUE: Henry M. Halvorson of Wanamingo.

HENNEPIN: Mrs. John M. Tirrell of Excelsior; and Louis J. Ahlstrom, Jr., Mrs. Clarence W. Alvord, Carlos Avery, Edgar A. Barry, Dr. Arthur E. Benjamin, Eugene N. Best, Christian A. Bossen, Anna P. Brezler, Fred B. Chute, Alfred J. Dean, Mrs. Alfred J. Dean, Victor E. Elving, George H. Elwell, Mrs. Cassius M. Ferguson, Mrs. Ross A. Gamble, Michael J. Gill, Mrs. Rex W. Heald, Ulysses G. Herrick, Mrs. Gertrude B. Howe, Elizabeth Jackson, John Jager, Charles F. Keyes, Joseph R. Kingman, Mrs. Clarkson Lindley, Mrs. Charles M. Loring, Albert S. Macmillan, John W. Nixon, Willis I. Norton, Alvah M. Olin, Reverend Richard S. Read, James A. Ridgway, Dr. Carl M. Roan, David F. Simpson, Mrs. Edward A. Strong, Albert C. Swift, Louis A. Tohill, Ell Torrance, Silas H. Towler, Andreas Ueland, John R. Van Derlip, Thomas F. Wallace, Charles

M. Way, Mrs. William F. Webster, Alice E. Whitmore, Theodore Wirth, and Ary E. Zonne of Minneapolis.

HOUSTON: Francis A. Duxbury of Caledonia.

ITASCA: George B. Aiton of Grand Rapids.

JACKSON: Alton B. Cheadle of Jackson.

KANABEC: Peter S. Olson of Mora.

LAC QUI PARLE: Harry Gulbrandson of Boyd.

LE SUEUR: May W. Smith of Elysian.

LYON: M. J. Moorse of Minneota.

MCLEOD: Luther W. Gilbert and Lawrence W. Marshall of Glencoe, and Mrs. Harry White of Hutchinson.

MILLE LACS: Richard Hamer of Milaca and Harry D. Ayer of Onamia.

OLMSTED: Dr. William P. Finney and Dr. Edward S. Judd of Rochester.

OTTER TAIL: Daniel Flynn of Perham.

RAMSEY: John O. Christianson, Melvin J. Doherty, James M. Drew, Arthur B. Driscoll, Charles W. Eddy, Charles Ffolliott, Mrs. Theodore A. Foque, Mrs. Lillian C. Goodenow, Theophilus L. Haecker, Jule M. Hannaford, George H. Hutchinson, Herbert P. Keller, Richard L. Kennedy, Charles J. Moos, Charles Murray, James Nankivell, Arthur E. Nelson, Mrs. Boyd Nixon, Clement A. Ouellette, Gale W. Perry, Walter Rasmussen, Walter F. Rosenwald, William Rowe, Mrs. Mary S. Schmidt, Charles Skooglun, Webster Wheelock, and Edwin White, all of St. Paul.

RED LAKE: William Bottineau of Plummer.

RENVILLE: Mrs. Michael J. Dowling of Olivia and Emil Thang of Sacred Heart.

RICE: Charles N. Sayles of Faribault; and Reverend William E. Griffith, Mrs. George E. Huntington, and Andrew A. Rowberg of Northfield.

ST. LOUIS: Charles E. Adams, Albert Baldwin, Mrs. Julia M. Barnes, Alexander W. Hartman, Robert Kelly, Hugh J. McClearn, Charlotte V. Miller, John S. Pardee, George Rupley, and S. Valentine Saxby of Duluth; George A. Whitman of Eveleth; and Mabel M. Parker of Gilbert.

STEARNS: Reverend Theodore C. Hudson of Paynesville; and Samuel H. Grannis, Mrs. Fred Schilplin, and Darius Steward of St. Cloud.

STEVENS: Charles B. Kloos of Donnelly.

TODD: Lawrence H. Nelson of Little Sauk.

WADENA: Bryce E. Lehman of Wadena.

WASECA: M. Isabelle Davidson and Roscoe P. Ward of Waseca.

WASHINGTON: Mrs. J. W. Daniels of Dellwood.

WILKIN: Julius Schendel of Campbell and Knute K. Peterson of Rothsay.

WINONA: Samuel L. Prentiss, Benjamin F. Stalcup, and Paul Watkins of Winona.

NONRESIDENT: Maude V. Boise of Los Angeles, Charles McC. Reeve, and Mrs. Charles McC. Reeve of Pasadena, California; Mrs. George L. Shattuck of Ames and Florence M. Schilling of New Hampton, Iowa; Reverend Wiley A. Keve of Chanute, Kansas; Lewis F. Crawford of Bismarck and W. D. Henry of Wahpeton, North Dakota; Mrs. John M. Norris of Oroville and Henrietta Oftedal of Prosser, Washington; and Petter L. Lundberg of Ullstorp, Onnestad, Sweden.

The society lost five active members by death during the six months ending September 30, 1922: Cyrus Northrop of Minneapolis, April 3; John F. Rosenwald of Madison, April 25; Edwin Clark of Minneapolis, April 28; Emma E. Vose of St. Paul, July 12; and Christopher C. Andrews of St. Paul, September 21.

Thirty additional subscribers to the society's publications were enrolled during the six months ending September 30, 1922, as follows: the public libraries of Anoka and Princeton; public schools in Atwater, Brownton, Elkton, Eveleth (the Junior and Senior high schools and the normal training department), Fairfax, Fairmont, Farmington, Hayfield, Hoffman, Jackson, Lancaster, Little Falls, Luverne, McGrath, Morristown, Mound, Ogilvie, Red Wing, Rochester, Rustad, St. James, St. Paul (Mechanic Arts High School), Ulen, and Windom; the College of St. Catherine, St. Paul; and the College of St. Teresa, Winona.

ACCESSIONS

"There is something more affecting, it seems to me, in parting with friends in the midst of this mountain region . . . than in the ordinary separations which must necessarily occur among our friends in the midst of civilization" confided Mr. Samuel R. Bond to his diary as he rode his solitary way over the dividing ridge of the Rocky Mountains to join the leader of the Fisk exposition of 1862 while his teamster turned back to winter with the emigrants whom the expedition had escorted for three weary months from Fort Abercrombie across the plains and into the mountains. At the Prickly Pear River the emigrant train had encountered prospectors who had panned gold in that stream. The lure of the precious metal broke up the expedition, for most of the emigrants altered their plans and decided to remain in the mountains for the winter. Captain Fisk and his men, including the secretary of the expedition, Mr. Bond, pursued their way to Walla Walla. The original journal kept by Mr. Bond has been loaned to the society for copying by the Ipswich Historical Society of Ipswich, Massachusetts, into the custody of which Mr. Bond, who is still living, has placed his diary of 241 folio pages. It tells the story of the expedition in detail. It records the long days on the route with ox teams, nights under the stars in camps guarded by sentinels, buffalo hunts, encounters with grizzly bears, brushes with Indians, the warm hospitality tendered the emigrants at government and fur-trading posts, and many other incidents of the journey. The diary is of special Minnesota interest because many of the party were from St. Paul and its vicinity — including Pierre Bottineau, the guide of the expedition — and because descriptions are given of those parts of the state through which the party moved from St. Paul to Fort Abercrombie. Mr. Bond's official report of the expedition, published as a government document, omits much of the interesting detail and local color which are to be found in the journal.

French, German, Russian, Scandinavian, and other modern languages have been represented among the manuscripts received

by the society in the past, but it is only recently that Latin documents have been added to the collection. A letter signed by Ferdinand II, "by the grace of God chosen Emperor of the Romans, ever Augustus, and King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia," has been donated by Mr. J. Louis Billau of St. Paul. The document, which bears the date 1636, is written in the medieval Latin of the church, with abbreviations and words which might have puzzled a Cicero. Writing to the new bishop of Jaurinum, the emperor suggests in no ambiguous terms that the obligation of furnishing the dowry promised by the late bishop to the nuns of St. Clara on the event of the latter's sister entering that order, goes with the office and must be paid by the new incumbent. A unusually beautiful seal, still intact, adorns the document. A translation of the original Latin letter is printed in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 3, 1922. A papal bull, issued by Pope Pius VI in 1786 and written in Latin on fine parchment, has also been presented by Mr. Billau.

Information about early conditions in the St. Croix lumbering district is contained in a letter by Levi Stratton dated August 4, 1839. This letter is among several family papers presented to the society by Miss Ella Stratton of Excelsior. "I was one of a company of 35 men that went up for the purpose of building a large saw mill on the St. Croix river," writes Stratton. "The Palmyra the Boat that I went on was the first Boat that entered the river." Another item among the papers is a time record of the workmen who, under Stratton's direction, constructed the first bridge across the Rum River in 1853.

A small collection of papers relating to the Faribault family, and including valuable data on Jean Baptiste and Alexander Faribault, has been received from the estate of Stephen Jewett of Faribault.

The reminiscences of Mrs. Julia A. Spears, containing an account of Hole-in-the-Day, have been presented by the author through the courtesy of Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing.

Some valuable new materials on the Sioux War have recently been received by the society. The reminiscences of Thomas Jefferson Hunt, presented by his son, Mr. Hamlin Hunt of Minneapolis, record graphically the experiences of a resident in the Sioux War area, a member of Sibley's expedition in 1862, and a soldier in the South during the latter part of the Civil War. Another account of the Sioux War by a contemporary is the reminiscences of Aaron Myers, dictated about 1885 and now presented to the society by a grandson, Mr. Fred B. Myers of Duluth. The document contains a vivid account of the siege of New Ulm.

A letter written before Vicksburg on the eve of its surrender and one of the Vicksburg newspapers printed on wall paper have been received from Mr. John Bradford of St. Paul.

An old manuscript book of recipes, simple prescriptions, and directions for making strange concoctions which the pioneer enjoyed has been presented by Dr. William E. Leonard of Minneapolis. The document throws light upon the self-reliance of settlers who had recourse neither to apothecary nor to brewer.

The subscription list of the *New Ulm Pioneer,* an early German newspaper which contains valuable data on German immigration to Minnesota, has been presented to the society by Mr. Hugo Roos of Kansas City, who possesses the only known file of this rare paper.

The Indian collection has been enriched by gifts of Sioux Indian articles, including silver bracelets, a rosary, a beaded knife sheath, a silver brooch, and stone arrow points, spear points, and knives, from Mr. and Mrs. M. D. Pendergast of Sarnia, Ontario; and a grooved stone hammer found in Rock County in June, 1922, from Mr. Hugh P. Taylor of Jasper. A carved Indian war club, probably of Sioux origin, made from the antlers of an elk, is the gift of Mr. Max Distel of Le Sueur.

A considerable number of valuable additions to the society's domestic life and costume collections have been made recently.

These include bonnets, hats, dresses, shoes, and articles of lace from the period of the eighties and nineties, from Mrs. James A. Lovejoy of Minneapolis through the courtesy of Miss Mabel Gardner; a carpet bag carried in 1830 and a wedding gown of 1879 from Mrs. Mary K. Swain of Winona; a small hand sewing machine of the sixties from Mr. Christopher Arnold of St. Paul; a collapsible bootjack made about 1862 from Mr. Edward C. Hall of St. Paul; a small mahogany dressing case over a hundred and fifty years old, which was brought from Germany by Mrs. Auguste L. Larpenteur, from Mrs. Teresa Briggs of St. Paul; and a blue Staffordshire cream pitcher of the "Wild Rose" pattern, dated 1784, from Miss Inez Dickson of St. Paul. An old-fashioned corner whatnot, accompanied by a large vase of wax flowers with a bell-jar cover and a wreath of shell flowers, presented by Mrs. Hascal R. Brill of St. Paul, together with some additional nicknacks characteristic of the seventies and eighties, when whatnots flourished, make an interesting addition to the exhibits in the musuem. A brass fire shovel which has been deposited by Mr. and Mrs. Frank P. Garcken of Minneapolis is said to be part of a set presented by George Washington to Mr. Garcken's great-grandmother.

Three interesting additions have been made recently to the society's picture collection. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt of Chicago has presented two fine old water color sketches, one of Fort Snelling and the other entitled "Sioux Encampment, Upper Mississippi," which are signed "F. Jackson" and dated 1857. Two etchings by Charles W. Post — one of the Sibley House and the other of the old Larpenteur cabin which stood in what is the Midway district of St. Paul — have been received from a friend of the society. Mrs. Erasmus C. Lindley has presented a pen and ink sketch by C. A. Vanderhoof of General Meade's headquarters at Culpepper Court House during the Civil War.

Portraits received recently include a pastel of General Charles P. Adams of Hastings, from Mr. E. R. Haseltine of Minneapolis; an enlarged photograph of the Reverend Eric Norelius, pioneer

Swedish Lutheran missionary, author, and educator, from his son, Mr. Sigfrid Norelius of Lindstrom; a photograph of Charles W. Ames of St. Paul, from Mrs. Ames; a crayon of Judge Hascal R. Brill of St. Paul, from Mrs. Brill; and crayons of Mr. and Mrs. James A. Bull, who were leaders in the Granger movement of the seventies, from their son, Mr. Coates P. Bull of St. Paul.

Several additions have been made recently to the society's collection of objects illustrating military history. Civil War uniforms and equipment of General C. C. Andrews and of Lieutenant Elias D. Libbey, who was adjutant general of the state from 1901 to 1905, are gifts from Miss Alice Andrews and Mrs. Libbey of St. Paul, respectively. The army saddle used by General Emory Upton in the Civil War has been presented by Mrs. Rose E. Bascom of Fargo, North Dakota; and another Civil War saddle, together with sabres and spurs, used by General Charles P. Adams, is a gift of Mr. E. R. Haseltine of Minneapolis. Bone saws, amputating knives, a tourniquet, needles, and other surgical instruments are included in a case used by Dr. William H. Leonard during the Civil War, now presented to the society by his son, Dr. William E. Leonard of Minneapolis. From Mr. Joseph McAloon of St. Louis the society has received an army canteen of the Civil War period and an army food can of the type used in the World War. Miss Frances Rogers of St. Paul, who served as a nurse in France during the war, has presented a rubber life-saving suit which she took with her through the submarine zone.

A small skin trunk and a cane seat rocking chair taken by the Givens family in their flight from the Yellow Medicine Agency at the time of the Indian Outbreak of 1862, together with photographs of Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Givens, have been deposited by Mr. Matthew Patterson of Plano, Illinois.

An old flintlock gun which was dredged from the bottom of Lake Pepin some years ago is the gift of Miss Cora Richardson of Lake City. The piece is still cocked, but it is so corroded that marks indicating place or date of manufacture have been effaced.

An unusually interesting addition to the numismatic collection has been deposited with the society by Mr. J. W. Kamrar of Blue Earth. It is a four *daler* plate money piece issued by Charles XII of Sweden in 1716, and it is approximately ten inches square and weighs nearly seven pounds.

An almost complete set of Confederate notes of the issue of February 17, 1864, is the gift of Dr. William W. Folwell of Minneapolis.

The society's map collection has recently been enriched by two valuable gifts. Nine maps of America, chiefly the work of early French and German cartographers, have been presented by Mr. John Jager of Minneapolis, through the courtesy of Mr. Edward C. Gale. Five bear dates from 1817 to 1824; the other four are undated but the interesting geographical distortions which they show indicate that they represent a considerably earlier period. Mrs. William W. Redfield of Minneapolis has presented a collection of seventy-eight maps, including an 1851 Nichols map of St. Paul.

The largest lot of printed material received recently came from Faribault and included a second installment of diocesan reports, magazines, and books from the Episcopal diocese of Minnesota. Accompanying this material were many books from the Seabury Divinity School and a large part of the private library of the Reverend George C. Tanner, former registrar of the diocese of Minnesota, the whole lot exceeding four thousand items. The society now possesses a remarkable collection of Episcopal diocesan reports and journals; and, with the assistance of the Reverend Francis L. Palmer of Faribault, the present registrar of the diocese, an attempt is being made to fill in the gaps and to keep the collection up-to-date. (See *ante*, p. 167, 273.)

From the Colonial Dames of America in Minnesota has been received a handsome volume entitled *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774*

to 1776, edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews in collaboration with Charles M. Andrews (New Haven, 1921. 341 p.)

A *Catalogue of Stocks, Bonds, Western Lands, Town Lots, and other Real Estate, Belonging to the Estate of Jay Cooke and Co. in Bankruptcy,* issued for an auction sale in 1880 and recently acquired by this society, lists and describes several hundred holdings in Minnesota, particularly in Duluth and the northeastern section of the state. The prices of lots, the descriptions of towns and lands, and the detailed evidence of Jay Cooke's Minnesota interests shown in the catalogue make it a useful source of information on the state's economic history.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A well-reasoned article on "The Approach to History," by Logan Esarey, in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for June, although of interest primarily to teachers, is not without general value. The writer considers the culture-epoch theory and the heroic approach to history to be unsound and vicious. He dismisses "the idea of adulterating or diluting history to make it easier for the earlier grades," and discloses his own point of view by the remark, "Evidently the approach to history must begin nearer home and nearer now."

One tendency of the times in historical society work is to expand the field of activity and thus enlarge the range of service. Recognition of this was given at one session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association which convened at Iowa City on May 11 and 12, at which there was a discussion of "The Coöperation of State Historical Societies with Universities," led by Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Minnesota and Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Another subject considered at the same session was "The Promotion of Helpful Relations between State Historical Societies and other Organizations," with talks by Eunice G. Anderson and Doane Robinson.

The leading article in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June is a study of "Propaganda as a Source of American History," by Frank M. Hodder. The writer believes that there is "need of a thorough reëxamination of the sources upon which our history has been based," and that this devolves upon the rising generation of scholars who "will be free from the prepossessions that unconsciously controlled the older writers." In the "Notes and Documents" section of the same number, a typical "America letter," written by a Norwegian immigrant, Gjert G. Hovland, on April 22, 1835, is translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen. The translation is based upon a transcrip-

tion now in the manuscript collection of the Minnesota Historical Society. An account of "The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association," by Louis Pelzer, appears in the September number of the *Review*. In the same issue Dr. George M. Stephenson calls attention to "An Important Swedish Source," namely *Minnen från en sjuttonärig vistelse i Nordvestra Amerika* ("Reminiscences of a Seventeen-year Sojourn in Northwestern America"), by Gustaf Unonius (Upsala, 1861, 1862. 2 vols.). He translates from this important work a few pages describing a meeting of a claim association to which Unonius belonged — an "excellent description of the practical working of pioneer democracy." A translation of the entire work would make available for western historians a very illuminating source.

A valuable article on "The Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America," by Norman S. B. Gras, is published in the *American Historical Review* for July. The author believes that the latest stage in economic history is the development of metropolitan areas in each of which is a center which concentrates the trade of a definitely marked hinterland. The Twin Cities, for example, constitute the center for a metropolitan area which ignores the conventional political boundaries.

A Report of a Visit to Various Archives Centres in Europe, United States of America, and Canada, by C. Graham Botha, chief archivist for the Union of South Africa (Pretoria, Transvaal, 1921. 67 p.) is a compendium of useful information about archives and archival problems: centralization, departmental records, custody, care and arrangement, buildings, repair, destruction of "valueless" documents, administration and staff, publications, and public use.

"The Immigrant in American History" is the title of a brief but suggestive article by Carl Wittke in the *Historical Outlook* for June. The writer urges that greater attention be given to "the peculiar reaction of the various racial groups to the new environment" and to "the many things they brought with them

to affect and determine much of our political, economic and social development."

A pamphlet entitled *A Temple of American History, The William L. Clements Library,* by William W. Bishop (Ann Arbor, 1922. 14 p.), tells of the plans of the University of Michigan to assemble in a separate building a remarkable collection of Americana.

E. H. Harriman: A Biography, by George Kennan (Boston and New York, 1922. 421, 421 p.), is an important contribution to American transportation history and is of special Minnesota interest for its account of Harriman's relations to James J. Hill, particularly in the struggle for control of the Burlington road and in the formation of the Northern Securities Company.

Minnesota communities interested in the presentation of local historical pageants will find of suggestive value a pamphlet entitled *The Historical Pageant in the Rural Community,* by Abigail F. Halsey, published in June, 1922, as number 54 of the *Extension Bulletins* of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University (p. 319–342).

An interesting article on the "Medicine Songs of George Farmer" is contributed by Albert B. Reagan of Kayenta, Arizona, to the July–September number of the *American Anthropologist.* The author was for a time Indian agent at Nett Lake for the Bois Fort Chippewa of northern Minnesota, and the songs used during the ceremonies of initiation into the Grand Medicine Lodge were collected at that time.

In a volume entitled *Ebenezer: Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod During Three Quarters of a Century,* edited by W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis, 1922. 536 p.), one chapter tells of the work of this Lutheran organization in the Northwest, and another deals with "The Missouri Synod and the Norwegians."

Lutheran Mission Work Among the American Indians is the title of a book by Dr. Albert Keiser (Minneapolis, 1922. 191

p.), one chapter of which deals with Lutheran activity among the Chippewa in Michigan and Minnesota.

A number of Paul Bunyan tales are assembled by Charles E. Brown in a pamphlet prepared for the use of students at the University of Wisconsin (Madison, 1922. 7 p.). After telling some of the wonderful exploits of the mythical hero of the lumberjacks, Mr. Brown presents a brief Paul Bunyan bibliography.

The history of the northern Missouri Valley was reviewed in an elaborate pageant presented at Mandan and at Bismarck, North Dakota, on September 18, 19, and 20.

"The story of the making of our commonwealths of the Upper Mississippi Valley is not destined to be hidden in the mists of obscurity or to be handed down by means of doubtful or casual and fragmentary record." Thus writes Dr. Albert Shaw in an article entitled "Records of Northwestern Pioneering," published in the *Review of Reviews* for April. He deals with such records in biography by reviewing Hamlin Garland's *A Son of the Middle Border* and *A Daughter of the Middle Border;* and in the field of fiction he discusses *Vandemark's Folly,* by Herbert Quick. Taking the first volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota* as the basis for his consideration of northwestern pioneering records as they are dealt with in history, he writes: "We have had no historical writing of a similar kind that has disclosed greater skill than that of Dr. Folwell in the discriminating use of a multitude of authorities. . . . No man of forty could write with a more virile mastery of his documentary materials and of his intellectual resources than has Dr. Folwell written, as he approaches completion of his ninth decade."

The University of California has brought out as volume 11 in its series of *Publications in History* a study of *Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads 1853–1855,* by George L. Albright (Berkeley, California, 1921. 187 p.). The author deals with the official Pacific railroad survey of 1853–55 as "the first

attempt of the government at a comprehensive, systematic examination of the vast region lying between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean." The most interesting chapter in the book for Minnesota readers is that dealing with "Stevens's Explorations between the Forty-seventh and Forty-ninth Parallels." The plans for these explorations were very elaborate; four separate parties in fact coöperated. One was under the supervision of Governor Isaac I. Stevens and was instructed "to operate from St. Paul on the Mississippi westward towards the mouth of White Earth River; thence on the prairies lying along the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains and through the passes of that region." A second party, under Captain George B. McClellan, was "to set out from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia and operate northeastward through the passes of the Cascade Range, and thence eastward to join Governor Stevens's party." Two other parties were to examine respectively the Missouri River from its mouth to Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone, and the region from Fort Walla Walla to the Bitter Root Valley. A brief account is given of the course of the Stevens party in Minnesota, based upon the official report of the expedition. The author has traced on a large map the routes of all the explorations which he describes in his text.

A short sketch of Norwegian life and activity in America from the days of Leif Ericson down to the present is presented in a booklet of thirty pages entitled *Normændene i Amerika* by Amandus Norman (Hanska, Minnesota, 1922).

Brief biographical sketches of a number of Norwegian immigrants appear in the volumes for 1921–22 and 1923 of the *Yearbook* series of Opdalslaget. In a similar series issued by Mjösenlaget, the volumes for 1918, 1919, and 1920-21 contain a wealth of material about the region in southern Norway from which the members of this *lag* have come. Much information about Numedal, Norway, and the emigration from that district to America is contained in the eighth volume in the series of *Yearbooks* issued by Numedalslaget (1922. 96 p.).

Selbygbogen: Meddelelser om Selbyggernes Slægt i Amerika og deres Virke, by the Reverend John U. Pedersen (Minneapolis, 1921. 444 p.), contains a mass of biographical information about Norwegians in the United States who have come from the Selbu district in Norway. One chapter is devoted to an interesting account of the conditions on board ship crossing the Atlantic in the sixties.

A brief survey of the history of the Swedish Baptists in the United States is made in *Efter sjuttio år (1852–1922): Svenska baptiströrelsens uppkomst och utveckling i Amerika* (St. Paul, 1922. 45 p.).

Much information about Gustavus Adolphus College of St. Peter and the Augustana Synod is assembled in volume 8 of *My Church: An Illustrated Lutheran Manual,* by Ira O. Nothstein (Rock Island, Illinois, 1922. 136 p.).

"The First Traders in Wisconsin," by Louise Phelps Kellogg, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June, deals with two figures familiar to all students of Minnesota history, Radisson and Groseilliers. The author advances the theory that Groseilliers made a trip to the western Indians in 1654, but that he was not accompanied by Radisson who at that time may have been in France. Groseilliers returned in 1656 and may have induced Radisson then to accompany him to the West for a year of profitable trade with the Indians. This supposition, in Miss Kellogg's opinion, would explain Radisson's description of the outward journey of 1656 as his first introduction to the West. It would also explain his assertion that the voyage lasted three years, "since he was describing both his own and Groseilliers' adventures." In other words, Dr. Kellogg suggests that whereas Radisson, on his voyage, spent only one year in the West, 1657, his descriptions cover the period from 1654 to 1657. An interesting contribution to the September number of the magazine is an editorial by Dr. Joseph Schafer on "Historical 'Firsts,' 'Exclusives,' and 'Incomparables.'" A note of warning is sounded which local historians generally should heed.

"Just as the cities of ancient Greece contend for the honor of being the birthplace of Homer, so most modern towns, through their historian spokesmen, try to lay claim to some unique distinction, something in which they are *exclusive,* if not exclusive then *first,* and if not first at least *incomparable.*" But frequently the basis of such "amiable indulgence in community self-gratulation" is "most unsubstantial."

"It seemed, indeed, that the only way in which Iowa was able to solve the problem of the sale of liquor to the Indians, was to send the Indians beyond its jurisdiction," writes Dr. John C. Parish in an article entitled "Liquor and the Indians," published in the July number of the *Palimpsest.*

Under the general title of "Iowa Troops in the Sully Campaigns," contemporary records kept by three Iowa soldiers who participated in the campaigns of 1864 and 1865 against the Sioux are printed in the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics.* Naturally there are many references to the Minnesota troops which constituted a large proportion of General Sully's command. The same magazine contains an interesting article entitled "Sioux City and the Black Hills Gold Rush 1874–1877," by Erik M. Eriksson.

An Indiana law of 1921 authorizes the county commissioners in each county which has or may have an historical society to appropriate the sum of fifteen hundred dollars per year to pay the salary of a curator and to meet other expenses of the local society.

A reminiscent article on "Old Fort Garry in the Seventies," by William J. Morris, published in the *Annual Report and Transaction* of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto for 1918 (no. 18), tells of a trip made via St. Paul from eastern Ontario to Fort Garry in 1876.

A *Catalogue of the Hudson's Bay Company's Historical Exhibit at Winnipeg, 1922* (Winnipeg, 1922. 72 p.) lists items under the headings of early history; furs; Indians; life in the

service; forts, posts, and stores; fights and wars; and land and settlement.

The *Beaver* continues to bring out historical articles relating to the Canadian Northwest, many of which are of considerable interest for Minnesota readers. The second part of a study of "La Verendrye," by D. C. Harvey (see *ante*, p. 288) is published in that magazine for April. The reminiscences of H. J. Moberly are continued in the six numbers from April to September (see *ante*, p. 287). An interesting article on "The Birchbark Canoe, an Important Factor in H.B.C. Transport from Earliest Times," by H. M. S. Cotter, appears in the June and July numbers. To the September issue Mr. R. C. MacBeth contributes the first installment of his "Strathcona, Personal Recollections of the Highland Lad, Apprenticed to the Great Company on the Labrador, Who Eventually Became Governor of H.B.C."

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

The valuable series of "Historical Sketches of Minnesota" published in the *Minneapolis Journal*, continues from January 11 to April 28, 1922 (see *ante*, p. 288). The articles, which number seventy-five, have been prepared with considerable care. Many of them are based on manuscripts, books, or museum objects in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Among the topics of local interest to Minneapolis readers may be noted "The First Flour Mill in Minneapolis" (no. 1), "Nicollet Avenue Named After Pioneer" (no. 23), "Printers' Union Formed in 1859" — the story of the organization of the first typographical union in St. Anthony and Minneapolis — (no. 40), "Early Estimates of St. Anthony Falls" (no. 41), "Minneapolis' First Masonic Lodge" (no. 43), "Minneapolis' First Daily Newspaper" (no. 47), and "Minneapolis' First Fire Department" (no. 51). The writer of the sketches has a fondness for "firsts," as the titles mentioned above indicate. Other stories of this type are "Stillwater's First Schoolbell" (no. 39)

and "St. Paul's First Post Office" (no. 38). Many of the subjects are of more general interest, however, for the series includes sketches of early Mississippi steamboating (no. 2), the coming of the railway and the telegraph (no. 3), the discovery of Lake Minnetonka and of Minnehaha Falls (no. 5), the Carver grant (no. 11), oxcart travel (no. 12), the two Minnesota state constitutions (no. 16), Horace Greeley's opinion of the state (no. 24), the Pipestone quarries (no. 32), the territorial election of 1849 (no. 42), the grasshopper plague of 1873 (no. 53), the discovery of iron ore (no. 57), and Seward's visit to Minnesota in 1860 (no. 66). Some of the articles deal with the work of the Minnesota Historical Society and with special problems connected with the preservation of records. "Mending Down-and-Out Documents" (no. 58) is the title of a very clear explanation of the manner in which torn manuscripts are handled. Another series, somewhat similar in nature, which appears in the *Journal* from May 1 to May 12 and comprises eight short articles, bears the title "Historical Relics of Minnesota."

"Landmarks of Minnesota History" is the title of yet another series in the *Minneapolis Journal,* which begins in the issue of August 17 and includes twenty-six articles up to November 20. The chief interest of this series, which is the work of Mr. Arthur T. Adams, lies in the pictures of historic sites which are presented. Most of the topics are drawn from the events and scenes of the Sioux War. The illustrations are interesting and the explanatory material is carefully written.

How Mr. Edward H. Bromley of Minneapolis assembled his valuable collection of photographs is told in a lengthy article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 30 entitled "Priceless Photographs of Early Minnesota Saved by One Man's Foresight."

A system of Minnesota state parks linked by trunk highways is proposed in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 10, in which the views of the Honorable Ray P. Chase, state auditor, are explained.

The annual meeting of the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Association was held at the Old Capitol, St. Paul, on May 11 — the sixty-fourth anniversary of Minnesota's admission to the Union. Among other pioneer organizations which have met recently are the Stearns County Old Settlers' Association at St. Cloud on June 6, the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association in Sibley State Park on June 20, and the Pioneer Rivermen's Association in St. Paul on April 29. Veterans who were employed on the railroad between Minneapolis and McGregor, Iowa, during the years from 1864 to 1870 held their annual reunion at Owatonna on June 7. Four members of the Last Man's Club, composed of survivors of Company B, First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, in the Civil War, met at the Sawyer House in Stillwater on July 21.

An illustrated lecture on "Historic Spots in Minnesota" was given by Mr. Arthur T. Adams to the Camp Fire Girls of Minneapolis on April 19. On April 28 Mr. Adams spoke on the same subject at Redwood Falls. He described many interesting historic sites and monuments in the state and gave special attention to the region of the Sioux Outbreak.

The *Year Book* for 1922 issued by the Daughters of the American Revolution of Minnesota (73 p.) contains a large amount of information in compact form, including a brief history of the state organization and a valuable list of fourteen "monuments erected and places of historic interest marked" during the period from 1903 to 1921. There is also a brief account of the Sibley House and its administration. The attitude of the state regent, Mrs. Marshall H. Coolidge, on the question of marking historic sites is indicated in her message in which she quotes the line, "Monuments are enduring links, which bind one generation to another."

The series of articles in the *Minneapolis Journal* entitled "Backtrailing History on Old Frontiers with Charles M. Russel" includes one on May 21 about the career of Radisson. The author of this account accepts the interpretation of Radisson's

narrative which gives the explorer credit for the discovery of the Mississippi River.

A picture of frontier life at Fort Snelling, of Pike's purchase of the site from the Indians, of the arrival of the first troops in 1819, and of the erection of the first buildings, is sketched by Thomas H. Moodie in the *Daily News* of Minneapolis for May 20. The personalities of Pike, Leavenworth, Snelling, Taliaferro, and Bailly dominate the story, which is illustrated with portraits of Pike and Snelling and with early views of the fort.

A letter written in 1912 by Jeremiah J. Landrigan, who came to Read's Landing in 1855, in which he explains the details of an Indian murder, trial, and punishment, is published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 2 as an example of pioneer judicial procedure.

The sixtieth anniversary of the beginning of the Sioux Outbreak was the occasion for an elaborate celebration in New Ulm from August 16 to 19 and for many newspaper stories about the events of 1862. Benedict Juni's reminiscences are printed in the *St. Paul Daily News* for August 20 as part of a feature story on the outbreak. An article on the massacre appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 13 and the narrative of Christ Spelbrink is printed in the *Minneapolis Journal* for the same date. Among the speakers at the New Ulm celebration were Mr. Samuel McAuliff, one of the defenders of the city in 1862, Mr. Thomas Hughes of Mankato, and the Honorable John Lind. In a letter printed in the *Journal* of September 10 Mr. Marion P. Satterlee makes an estimate of the number of whites killed as a result of the war. Including two persons who died of heart failure and one person who was killed by a stroke of lightning, there were 412 civilians and 77 enlisted soldiers killed. A more dependable estimate, however, in Mr. Satterlee's opinion, is 392 civilians and 77 soldiers. A celebration at Fort Ridgely on August 22 commemorated the raising of the siege of that stronghold by General Sibley in 1862. "The Girl Who Was Traded for a Horse" is the title of an illustrated feature article based

upon an interview with Mrs. Mary Schwandt Schmidt of St. Paul in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 11. Mrs. Schmidt retells the story of her capture by the Indians during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862 and of her rescue by the squaw, Snana. Reminiscences of the Sioux Outbreak and especially of the refugees from Jackson, Minnesota, form an interesting part of "A Brief History of the Early Settlement of Spirit Lake, Iowa," by Harriet Kingman Farnham, which is published in the *Bulletin* of the Lake Okoboji Protective Association for 1922 (no. 18).

The fifty-fourth anniversary of the occupation of the White Earth reservation by the Chippewa was celebrated by resident Indians on June 14. A sham battle between the Chippewa and visiting Sioux was a feature of the celebration. The seventy-first anniversary of the signing of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux is the occasion for the publication of a feature article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 30. The fact that the descendents of the Indians who signed the treaty are at last to receive payments declared forfeited after the Sioux Massacre is noted.

An account of the James and Younger bandit raid on Northfield in 1876, based upon an interview with Dr. H. M. Wheeler, an eyewitness, appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 23.

Interesting conjectures as to what might have been if things had not occurred precisely as they did occur are presented in an article on a group of prominent political leaders including Cushman K. Davis, William R. Merriam, Winfield S. Hammond, and Robert C. Dunn in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 13. The article, which is the work of Mr. Charles B. Cheney, bears the title: "'If': Keyword in Minnesota Political Destinies, as in Roosevelt's."

Veterans of the Civil, Spanish-American, and World wars gathered at Fort Snelling on September 21 to attend a reunion of members of the Third United States Infantry, which is said to be the "oldest regiment in the army." Its history is outlined by Elliott Tarbell in the *St. Paul Daily News* for September 3.

An attractive booklet entitled *In Memoriam: Hascal R. Brill, 1846–1922* has been compiled by the Ramsey County Bar Association to honor the memory of the late Judge Hascal R. Brill. It contains the proceedings of a memorial service held on April 15, 1922, at the Ramsey County Court House; an address delivered by the Reverend Henry C. Swearingen at the House of Hope Church, St. Paul, on March 19; addresses by Dr. Samuel F. Kerfoot and the Reverend Frank A. Cone, made at the First Methodist Episcopal Church, St. Paul, on Easter Sunday; and various other tributes.

The personal narrative of the "Life and Adventures of Capt. Stephen B. Hanks," which has been running in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, comes to an end with the installment in the issue of April 15. The story is then taken up by the author's son, Mr. M. W. Hanks of Stillwater, who presents a brief outline of his father's life from 1882 to his death in 1917. Despite this apparent termination, however, installments continue to appear; for the editor, Captain Fred A. Bill, separates from the main narrative all lengthy descriptions of the upper Mississippi River and these are published from May 6 to July 15. They contain some excellent material on the origin and early aspect of innumerable river towns. Estimates of Captain Hanks's career by former associates make up the installments for July 22 and 29 and conclude the series. Captain Bill has contributed numerous other interesting articles to the *Post* during the past six months. Extracts from a diary kept by the mother of Orrin F. Smith of Winona during a trip "Down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers in 1833" appear on August 5; and in the issues for August 12 and 19 is an account of the "Hot Springs Railroad . . . Prepared for the Seventieth Anniversary Record of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad." Some additional material relating to river traffic, including a "list of boats that exploded," compiled by Captain J. W. Darrah of Stillwater, appears in the issues of the *Post* for July 29 and September 9 and 16; and Captain J. M. Turner's "Recollections of the Old River" also are continued.

A paper read by Captain Bill before the Pioneer Rivermen's Association at St. Paul on April 29 about the "First Round Trip of the Steamer Virginia on the Upper Mississippi" between St. Louis and Fort St. Anthony in 1823 is published in four installments on July 8, 15, 22, and 29. That the "Virginia" left St. Louis on April 23 and probably arrived at Fort St. Anthony on May 10, 1823, is the conclusion reached by Captain Bill, according to an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 20.

An illustrated story entitled "Read's Landing Relives Old Days When Town Was 'Metropolis,'" which appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 25, tells about the home-coming meeting of the Read's Landing Association on June 24.

In the *American-Scandinavian Review* for August, 1922, there is an illustrated article entitled "Two American Sculptors: Fjelde — Father and Son," by Luth Jaeger. The best-known works of the father, Jacob Fjelde, who came to Minneapolis in 1887 from Norway, are the monument to the First Minnesota Regiment, at Gettysburg; the figures representing the arts and sciences over the entrance to the library building of the University of Minnesota; the Ibsen bust in St. Paul; Hiawatha carrying Minnehaha, a bronze group placed on a rock in the creek above Minnehaha Falls; and the Ole Bull statue in Loring Park, Minneapolis. The son, Paul Fjelde, grew up on a North Dakota homestead to which the widow had gone with her family after the death of her husband in 1896. He became a student of Lorado Taft and has won distinction as an artist of original powers.

Several interesting newspaper articles on state agricultural history have recently been published. Joseph R. Brown and John Harrington Stevens figure in a story in the *Daily News* of Minneapolis for September 9 about early wheat raising and the earliest agricultural fair in Minnesota. A somewhat similar article, giving special attention to the development of dairying, appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 25 under the title "Campaign Started 72 Years Ago Puts Minnesota in Van of Dairy States." A brief historical survey of the yield and acre-

age of Minnesota wheat is contributed to the *Journal* of May 26 by Professor Andrew Boss. "James J. Hill Was Great Apostle of Diversified Farming" is the title of an illustrated article by Charles F. Collisson in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 12, in which the empire builder's contributions to Minnesota agricultural development are discussed.

"Today Minnesota stands at the forefront of the cooperative movement in the United States." Such is the first sentence of a chapter on "The Minnesota Idea" in *The Modern Farm Cooperative Movement,* by Chesla C. Sherlock (Des Moines, 1922. 377 p.). Another chapter is devoted entirely to "The Minnesota Potato Exchange," and there is much of Minnesota interest in other chapters. The book is popular rather than scientific in tone, but it assembles much information that will be wanted some day by students of history and the documentary appendix will be especially welcomed.

An address on *Coöperative Marketing in Minnesota,* delivered by Governor Jacob A. O. Preus before the Lyon County Farm Bureau Federation at Marshall, Minnesota, on June 15, has been published as a twelve-page pamphlet. "Minnesota was not only a pioneer in the coöperative movement, but today leads the states in this method of marketing," writes the author. Compact information is given on farmers' mutual insurance, coöperative creameries and cheese factories, farmers' elevators, coöperative stores, potato marketing, and farmers' telephones in Minnesota.

The death on April 3 of Dr. Cyrus Northrop, president emeritus of the University of Minnesota, occasioned numerous articles in the press of the state on his long educational career. The circumstances attending his appointment as the second president of the university are described in a letter by Judge John B. Gilfillan of Minneapolis, which is published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 30. Judge Gilfillan was a member of the committee which went to New Haven, Connecticut, in 1884 to persuade Northrop, then a professor at Yale University, to come west.

Gustavus Adolphus College at St. Peter, the "alma mater of three Minnesota governors," celebrated the completion of sixty years of educational work on May 21. The history of the college from 1862, when it was founded at Red Wing by Dr. Erik Norelius, is reviewed in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 14.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

During the week of July 3 the people of Brainerd celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of their city. A feature of the festivities was a parade composed of floats picturing various incidents in the city's history. The seventieth birthday of Osseo was celebrated by a community outing on July 11, and the *Minneapolis Journal* for that date prints a brief history of the village, which was founded by Pierre Bottineau. An article in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for May 17 notes that May 23 "will mark the sixty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of twelve counties of the state."

A pageant depicting the early history of Alexandria was given in that city on June 27 and 28. One scene, which was suggested by the Kensington rune stone inscription, represented the supposed arrival of the Northmen in 1362.

A valuable survey of "The Development of Itasca's Mining Industry" is published in the *Grand Rapids Herald-Review* for December, 1921. A letter from Mr. Leon E. Lum of Duluth, published in the same newspaper for April 5, 1922, tells of the attempts made by James Whitehead and Justus Ramsey to mine iron ore in the Itasca region before the Civil War.

The history of the building used by the Catholic Church of St. Vincent de Paul at Osseo for fifty-eight years is outlined in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 21 in connection with an announcement that the old structure has been sold at auction.

The concluding articles of a series of four sketches entitled "Early Days in Le Sueur," by Bertha L. Heilbron (see *ante*, p. 297), appear in the *Le Sueur Herald* for April 5 and 19. The

third article deals with the arrival of the first passenger train in Le Sueur; the fourth describes the town's early hotels.

A series of one hundred short articles on the origins of Martin County names, which is published in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* from May 4 to August 31, brings together a large amount of useful historical information.

The story of the development under the direction of the Mayo family of St. Mary's Hospital at Rochester from a crude three-story brick structure with a capacity of forty patients in 1877 into one of the great surgical institutions of the world is outlined in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 7. An entire sixteen-page section is devoted to articles about the hospital, which opened its new surgical pavilion in May. A brief history of the City and County Hospital of St. Paul and a picture of the institution as it appeared in 1883 are published in the *St. Paul Daily News* for July 9. The growth of St. Luke's Hospital in St. Paul, which began with a small dwelling in 1857, is described in a brief article in the *Pioneer Press* for April 2.

The issue for June 1 of the *Wabasha County Herald* marks the beginning of the sixty-fifth year of its publication. In an editorial the history of the paper is briefly reviewed.

A pamphlet entitled *A Brief History of the Church of the Sacred Heart of Faribault, Minnesota* has been issued by its pastor, the Reverend Father I. Domestici (1922. 25 p.). The religious services of the first "French Catholic Church" of Faribault were held by the pioneer priest, Father Ravoux, in the frame house of Alexander Faribault, which was erected in 1853. The author traces the development of the church from that date down to 1922.

An unusually comprehensive and valuable congregational history has been issued by the Swedish Lutheran congregation of Svea, Minnesota, in connection with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the church. The book is entitled *Jubel album utgivet av Svenska Ev. Lutherska Svea-Försam-*

lingen i Svea, Minnesota, 1870–1920 (Rock Island, Illinois, [n. d.]. 277 p.). Another Swedish Lutheran congregational history, which has not previously been noted, is *Minneskrift över Svenska Ev. Luth. Bethel Församlingen i Willmar, Minnesota* (1916. 51 p.).

To the published histories of Minnesota counties in the World War have recently been added volumes on Faribault, Norman, and Polk counties. These newly issued works are of the souvenir type already described in these pages (see *ante,* 3:212), but a few distinguishing features are to be noted. The volume on Faribault County (Wells, Minnesota, [n. d.]. [184] p.) contains, in addition to the usual military records, complete lists of local men registered for the draft. The volumes for Polk (Ada, Minnesota, 1922. 200 p.) and Norman (Ada, 1922. 188 p.) both contain those often omitted, but important, appendages—indexes to the records of service men. The publisher of the Polk County history, Mr. C. E. Wentsel of Ada, acknowledges his indebtedness, in part, to the local war records committee, one of the county branches of the state war records commission.

The story of the old Presbyterian Church at Fort Snelling is outlined in an article in the *Daily News* of Minneapolis for September 9. It is stated that the records of this church, which was organized in 1835, are now preserved by the First Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis.

Reminiscent articles about pioneers published in Twin City papers from April 1 to October 1, 1922, include recollections of James J. Hill, by one of his former employees, Mr. Henry D. Matthews, in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for June 19; accounts of the development of the Minneapolis fire department as observed by two pioneer members, Mr. Frank Bord and Mr. Charles W. Ringer, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 9 and 30; some reminiscences of Mr. Vernon M. Smith, who served as chief of police in Minneapolis from 1893 to 1899, in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 29; a brief outline of the career of Miss Olive A. Evers, founder and former principal of Stanley Hall, a girls' school of Minneapolis, in the *Tribune* for May 28; and an inter-

view, by M. Jessie Leitch, with Mrs. Eugenia B. Farmer, "Minnesota's pioneer suffragist," in the *Dispatch* for April 8. The services to Minneapolis of Charles M. Loring are recalled in a memorial tribute adopted by the Minneapolis board of park commissioners and published in the *Journal* of April 9. Recollections of "Other Days and Ways," and especially of the pioneer experiences of the family of James Hoffman in Minnesota by Wenonah Stevens Abbott, appear in the *Journal* for May 21.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the First Baptist Bible School, which was organized in 1847 by Mrs. Harriet E. Bishop, was celebrated at the First Baptist Church of St. Paul on June 7. On May 6 and 7 Unity Church of St. Paul, "the oldest Unitarian organization in the Northwest," celebrated the semicentennial of its founding. Two Minneapolis churches, Simpson Methodist Episcopal Church and All Saints' Episcopal Church, celebrated their fortieth and fifty-first anniversaries respectively on April 30 and September 24. Histories of these churches appear in contemporary newspapers. A sketch of Gustavus Adolphus Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Paul, which celebrated its thirty-second anniversary on July 1, and of the career of its pastor, the Reverend C. J. Carlson, appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 5.

An early history of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, first published in the *Saint Anthony Express,* is printed in the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 17 and 24 and October 1, 8, and 22. An examination of a file of the *Express* reveals the fact that the account was published in the issue of October 27, 1855, under the title "History and Business of St. Anthony and Minneapolis," and that the portion of the article which refers to St. Anthony had originally appeared in 1853 in the same newspaper.

The right of preëmption in relation to the early settlement of Minneapolis was discussed by Dr. William W. Folwell in an address on "Early Minneapolis History" before the Rotary Club of that city on June 1. A brief statement by Dr. Folwell about Minneapolis in the seventies of the last century is printed

in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 25 as an advertisement for the Northwestern National Bank, which was founded in 1872. The fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of this institution was celebrated on June 1.

Some of the pioneer experiences of Mr. Isaac Layman, who came to what is now Minneapolis with his father seventy years ago, are recounted in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for June 4. The same paper publishes on May 7 an interview with Mr. Kennedy B. Hamilton of Minneapolis, who served against the Indians under "Buffalo Bill" Cody.

Changes in the appearance of Minneapolis wrought by time and progress are the subject of an illustrated feature article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for September 3, in which early and modern pictures of identical sites are contrasted. The razing of the residence of Richard J. Mendenhall, which was noted for the beauty of its grounds and its greenhouses, is the occasion for an article in the same paper for August 27. A third article in the *Tribune* for May 28 reviews the history of the pioneer jewelry firm of S. Jacobs and Company. A large amount of detailed information about the business district of Minneapolis in 1876 is contained in an article by Wenonah Stevens Abbott in the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 10 under the title "When Minneapolis Did All Its 'Trading' Below Fifth Street, in 1876."

The first moving picture theater in Minneapolis is described in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 21 by Mr. George D. Strong, "whose hand turned the crank of that first machine." The "beginnings of radio telephony" in the Northwest, as recorded in the *Tribune* for June 14, 1914, are recalled in an article in that paper for April 30, 1922. The pioneer operator was Mr. James Coles, who is now radio editor for the *Tribune*.

A fifteen-page booklet entitled *Fiftieth Anniversary of the St. Paul's Norwegian Lutheran Church, 1872–1922* has been issued by this Minneapolis church in connection with a celebration on June 11 and 12.

A valuable contribution to Minneapolis history is made by Mr. Edward J. Davenport, who has served for fifty years as an officer of municipal and district courts in that city in an account of his experiences which he contributes to the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 30.

The "horse car" in Minneapolis transportation history is the subject of reminiscences by Mr. Elmer E. Edwards published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 13. Mr. Edwards was a horse-car driver who began work in Minneapolis in 1876.

A pamphlet entitled *Partial Report of the Mound District Social Survey,* by Manuel C. Elmer, has been published by the Hennepin County Tuberculosis Association (1922. 31 p.). The survey was carried coöperatively by that organization, the Mound community, and the University of Minnesota, and is intended as "a study of living conditions and activities in a suburban community of Hennepn [*sic*] County, Minnesota, as a basis for community development." Although considerable useful information has been brought together in the charts and outlines which chiefly comprise the work, the value of the survey would have been greater if the historical background of the community had not been completely ignored.

The Hennepin County War Records Committee has issued a *Supplement to the World War Gold Star Roster of Hennepin County,* containing eleven names as additions to the gold star roster published in 1921. There is also a list — corrected to May 21, 1922 — of Hennepin County service men "who died after discharge, death resulting from World War service."

During the past six months Benjamin Backnumber's sketches of "St. Paul Before This" in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Daily News* have included biographical notes about the following pioneers: Michael J. Roche, April 16; Captain Jeremiah C. Donahower, April 23; Jean Baptiste Faribault, July 23; Alexander Faribault, May 7; General Mark D. Flower, May 28; Daniel A. Robertson, July 9; the Conger brothers, July 30;

Erastus S. Egerton, August 13; Edward R. Johnstone, August 20; Nathaniel P. Langford, September 3; and Judge Rensselaer R. Nelson, September 17. Other articles in the series deal with the nomination and election of William R. Marshall to the governorship in 1865, June 18; with an episode in the political career of Ignatius Donnelly, July 2; and with the first St. Paul water works, June 4.

An article by Marjory Sawyer on the Indian mounds of St. Paul appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 16.

St. Paul caves, with special attention to Fountain Cave and Carver's Cave and their historic interest, are described in an illustrated feature story by Earl Christmas in the *St. Paul Daily News* for April 30.

The historic Battle Creek locality has been presented to the city of St. Paul as a site for a park by a public-spirited citizen, Mr. William McMurray.

The history of the House of Hope Presbyterian Church of St. Paul is outlined in the *St. Paul Dispatch* of October 4. The article is occasioned by the dismantling of the building erected in 1869 which was formerly used by the church.

Under the caption "From a Pleasant Ave. Piazza — Recollections," Mr. Charles M. Flandrau of St. Paul records, in the *St. Paul Daily News* for May 21, some impressions of the ever-changing panorama which has passed his door during half a century.

The parts played in the theatrical history of St. Paul by the old Windsor Novelty Theatre and its manager, Mr. Arthur White, are described in an illustrated feature article in the *St. Paul Daily News* for April 16.

An account by W. K. Miller of the commercial development of the Dayton's Bluff district in St. Paul is published in the *St. Paul Daily News* for June 25.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS, volume 1. Reprint of the *Annals* of the society published 1850–56, containing miscellaneous papers and sketches. 1902. xii, 430 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 2. Miscellaneous documents and papers. 1860–67. 294 p. Cloth, $3.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 3. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1870–80. viii, 433 p. Cloth, $5.00

COLLECTIONS, volume 4. *History of the City of St. Paul and County of Ramsey, Minnesota,* by J. F. Williams. 1876. 475 p. Out of print

COLLECTIONS, volume 5. *History of the Ojibway Nation,* by William W. Warren and Edward D. Neill. 1885. 535 p. Out of print

COLLECTIONS, volume 6. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1887–94. iv, 556 p. Cloth, $3.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 7. *The Mississippi River and Its Source,* by J. V. Brower. 1893. xv, 360 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 8. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1895–98. xii, 542 p. Cloth, $3.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 9. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1901. xiv, 694 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 10. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1905. xvi, viii, 938 p. in 2 parts. Cloth, $5.00

COLLECTIONS, volume 11. *Itasca State Park, an Illustrated History,* by J. V. Brower. 1905. 285 p. Cloth, $3.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 12. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1909. xx, 827 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 13. *Lives of the Governors of Minnesota,* by James H. Baker. 1908. xii, 480 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 14. *Minnesota Biographies, 1655–1912,* by Warren Upham and Mrs. Rose B. Dunlap. 1912. xxviii, 892 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 15. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1915. xv, 872 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 17. *Minnesota Geographic Names; Their Origin and Historic Significance,* by Warren Upham. 1920. viii, 735 p. Cloth, $3.50

THE ABORIGINES OF MINNESOTA: *A Report Based on the Collections of Jacob V. Brower, and on the Field Surveys and Notes of Alfred J. Hill and Theodore H. Lewis,* by N. H. Winchell. 1911. xiv, 761 p., quarto. ¾ leather, $5.00

MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, volumes 1, 2, 3, eight numbers each. Papers, documents, reviews, and notes. February, 1915–November, 1920. 590, 630, 587 p. Cloth, vol. 1, $8.00; vol. 2, $3.50; vol. 3, $5.00

A HISTORY OF MINNESOTA, by William Watts Folwell. Volume 1: To the organization of the state in 1857. 1921. xxii, 533 p. Volume 2: To the end of the Civil War. 1924. xviii, 477 p. Cloth, each $5.00

The same volumes in editions limited to two hundred numbered copies, autographed by the author, and with special frontispieces inserted. ¾ leather, each $10.00